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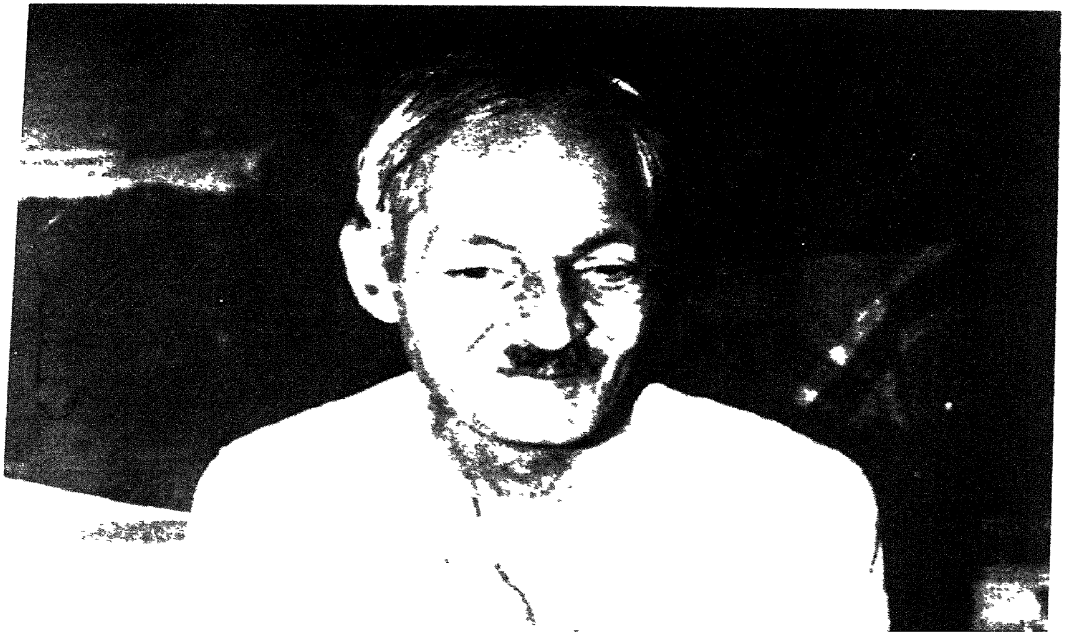
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लेखकमहोदयैः प्रकटीकृता विचारास्तेषामेव स्वायत्ताः,
न पुनस्ते सम्पादकान् न्यासं च निबध्नन्ति

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'THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST'

ON THE SAD DEMISE OF DR. V. S. AGRAWALA

सर्वभारतीय काशिराज न्यास का न्यासीमण्डल डा० वासुदेव शरण अग्रवाल के असामयिक निधन पर पूर्ण शोक प्रकट करता है एवं उनके दुःखी परिवार के प्रति अपनी सहानुभूति एवं समवेदना प्रेषित करता है।

डा० अग्रवाल आरम्भ से ही काशिराज न्यास की 'पुराण-समिति' के सदस्य रहे। आपके सहयोग तथा निरीक्षण से पुराण-विभाग के कार्य-संचालन में पूरी सहायता प्राप्त होती रही। 'पुराणम्' पत्रिका के संपादक-मण्डल में भी आप आरम्भ से ही रहे तथा इस पत्रिका के आरम्भ के कई अङ्कों का आपने स्वयं संपादन भी किया, और इस के प्रायः सभी अङ्कों में आपने विद्वत्तापूर्ण निबन्ध प्रदान किये। वामन-पुराण के संपादन-कार्य में भी आपने समय-समय पर पथ-निर्देशन किया, तथा अखिल भारतीय प्राच्यविद्या सम्मेलन के गौहाटी अधिवेशन में अपने अध्यक्षीय भाषण में न्यास के पुराण-कार्य का प्रशंसा पूर्वक उल्लेख किया।

डा० अग्रवाल के निधन से भारत का एक बड़ा विद्वान् हमारे बीच से उठ गया है, जिससे विद्वन्मण्डल और विशेषतः काशिराज न्यास की बहुत बड़ी क्षति हुई है जिसका पूरा होना अतीव दुष्कर है।

काशिराजन्यास उनके प्रति अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करता है, एवं उनकी दिवंगत आत्मा की शान्ति के निमित्त ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करता है।

पुराणम्—PURĀṆA

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[काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्]

ब्रह्मकृता योगनिद्रा-स्तुतिः

(देवीमाहात्म्यम्, १, ५४-६७)

[स नाभिकमले विष्णोः स्थितो ब्रह्मा प्रजापतिः ।
दृष्ट्वा तावसुरौ चोग्रौ प्रसुप्तं च जनार्दनम् ।। ५१ ।।
तुष्टाव योगनिद्रां तामेकाग्रहृदयस्थितः ।
विबोधनार्थाय हरेर्हरिनेत्रकृतालयाम् ।। ५२ ।।
विश्वेश्वरीं जगद्धात्रीं स्थितिसंहारकारिणीम् ।
निद्रां भगवतीं विष्णोरतुलां तेजसः प्रभुः ।। ५३ ।।]

ब्रह्मोवाच

त्वं स्वाहा त्वं स्वधा त्वं हि वषट्कारः स्वरात्मिका ।
सुधा त्वमक्षरे नित्ये त्रिधा मात्रात्मिका स्थिता ।। ५४ ।।
अर्धमात्रास्थिता नित्या याऽनुच्चार्या विशेषतः ।
त्वमेव संध्या सावित्री त्वं देवि जननी परा ।। ५५ ।।
त्वयैतद्धार्यते विश्वं त्वयैतत् सृज्यते जगत् ।
त्वयैतत् पाल्यते देवि त्वमत्स्यन्ते च सर्वदा ।। ५६ ।।
विसृष्टौ सृष्टिरूपा त्वं स्थितिरूपा च पालने ।
तथा संहृतिरूपाऽन्ते जगतोऽस्य जगन्मये ।। ५७ ।।
महाविद्या महामाया महामेधा महास्मृतिः ।
महामोहा च भवती महादेवी महासुरी ।। ५८ ।।
प्रकृतिस्त्वं च सर्वस्य गुणत्रयविभाविनी ।
कालरात्रिर्महारात्रिर्मोहरात्रिश्च दारुणा ।। ५९ ।।
त्वं श्रीस्त्वमीश्वरी त्वं ह्रीस्त्वं बुद्धिर्बोधलक्षणा ।
लज्जा पुष्टिस्तथा तुष्टिस्त्वं शान्तिः क्षान्तिरेव च ।। ६० ।।
खड्गिनी शूलिनी घोरा गदिनी चक्रिणी तथा ।
शङ्खिनी चापिनी बाणभुशुण्डीपरिघायुधा ।। ६१ ।।

सौम्या सौम्यतराऽशेषसौम्येभ्यस्त्वतिसुन्दरी ।
परापराणां परमा त्वमेव परमेश्वरी ॥ ६२ ॥

यच्च किंचित् क्वचिद् वस्तु सदसद् वाऽखिलात्मिके ।
तस्य सर्वस्य या शक्तिः सा त्वं किं स्तूयसे तदा ॥ ६३ ॥

यया त्वया जगत्स्रष्टा जगत् पात्यत्ति यो जगत् ।
सोऽपि निद्रावशं नीतः कस्त्वां स्तोतुमिहेश्वरः ॥ ६४ ॥

विष्णुः शरीरग्रहणमहमीशान एव च ।
कारितास्ते यतोऽतस्त्वां कः स्तोतुं शक्तिमान् भवेत् ॥ ६५ ॥

सा त्वमित्थं प्रभावैः स्वैरुदारैर्देवि संस्तुता ।
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प्रबोधं च जगत्स्वामी नीयतामच्युतो लघु ।
बोधश्च क्रियतामस्य हन्तुमेतौ महासुरौ ॥ ६७ ॥

[This *stuti* of the Goddess Yoganidrā has been taken he from the 'Devī-Māhātmya'—'Glorification of the Great Goddess' edited with translation and annotation by the late Dr. V. Agrawala (who was on the editorial Board of the 'Purāṇa' Bulleti and published by the All-India Kashiraj Trust in 1963. T *Stuti* is composed in a very lucid and fluent style and 'wi perfect mastery over a language of varied symbolism fluctuati between the Vedic and the Purāṇic styles.' Its easy langua creates no difficulty for the reader in understanding the sens But several of its statements require explanation to bring out the esoteric meaning. Below are given important extracts fro Dr. Agrawala's annotations on this *stuti*.]

1.53. भगवती निद्रा—"The stotra of Brahmā (1.53-67) is unique exposition of the principle of rest (निद्रा or रात्रि), that is, th Divine creator at rest when all forces have been withdrawn int his own person. Here a clear statement of the two states, th manifest and the unmanifest, is clearly formulated and both are said to be rooted in the same Absolute Divinity. One has t understand the several epithets given to निद्रा, sometimes to he

latent form, at other to her manifest form as cosmos. The stotra is comprised of many Vedic and Purāṇic motifs."

1.54. स्वरात्मिका "*Svara* generally a vowel sound, also stands for Vāk both in her transcendent and manifest form. The great Goddess in the Vedas is essentially identified with Vāk as in the वागाम्भृणी सूक्त (RV. 10. 125).

त्रिधा मात्रात्मिका—The three sounds अ + उ + म् which make up the Oṁkāra and which are the symbols of the cosmic triads, for example जाग्रत्, स्वप्न, सुषुप्ति or the three states of consciousness, represent the three mātrās of *Praṇava*. The reference is to the doctrine in the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad."

1.55. अर्धमात्रा—"The half-mātrā of the sound is that which is eternal and beyond utterance. This is also referred to as अमात्रा, i. e. without measure, अव्यवहार्या, शिवा, अद्वैता (Māṇḍūkya Up. 12.)"

1.58. महाविद्या etc.—"These epithets can be understood only with reference to their Vedic background. According to the Veda the creation is an emanation from a transcendent reality called अज, अव्यय or स्वयंभू which existed alone in the beginning.....From this undifferentiated centre proceeds the creation as a five-jointed branch. The first portion is स्वयंभू himself. The second is परमेष्ठी, the third सूर्य, the fourth चन्द्रमा and the fifth one पृथिवी. Of the five स्वयंभू and परमेष्ठी form one group and सूर्य, चन्द्रमा and पृथिवी the second group. The first group is unmanifest and the second manifest. स्वयंभू is the father-principle and परमेष्ठी the mother principle. स्वयंम्भू is the source or centre and परमेष्ठी is its extention or Mahimā called the Universal..... These two are the universal parents on the plane of unmanifested creation. Of the second group सूर्य is the father and पृथिवी the mother. These are also the parents of the visible creation symbolised as द्यावा-पृथिवी. At each level of these five there is a form of the Goddess—because she is power or female counterpart of the Deva.

In this verse the *Śakti* (power) of स्वयंम्भू is called महाविद्या the supreme knowledge.

The second epithet महामाया refers to परमेष्ठी or the Universal in which the creative potentialities are first measured out as Māyā or Mātā and then the whole scheme of creativity is determined as formless manifestation. It is the stage of the Universal, i. e. an amorphous condition full of great potentiality and dynamism, but all the energies are darting and conflicting in an irregular fashion, striving to evolve an order out of a prevailing chaos that is the form of महामाया who as representative of the Devas helps the cosmic order in the face of the destructive forces over whom she ultimately triumphs.....

The third epithet महामेधा refers to the region of सूर्य. The principle of Medhā is the same as Vijñāna, intelligence or consciousness as manifested on the plane of सूर्य who represents the universal mind.....

The fourth epithet is महास्मृति, the principle of Memory which is essential for the functioning of Medhā. This belongs to the sphere of चन्द्रमा or अन्तरिक्ष.

The fifth epithet is महामोहा, i. e. the power of Delusion, forgetfulness, error, confusion (bhrānti)—all of which are associated with पृथिवी or matter which intercepts light and results in darkness.....

महादेवी महासुरी—Here are two epithets applied simultaneously to the Great Goddess...This is an instance of the many paradoxes found in the Vedas and the Purāṇas. The power which is centrifugal, i. e. flows out from the centre, disintegrates and disrupts is called Āsuric, but that which builds the regulating force of the centre is Daivī or Divine. In the Universal both exist together. Originally there is chaos everywhere, although there is inexhaustible reserve of energy, but that is manifesting as destructive fury, being unharnessed, undirected and unmeasured. That is its Āsuric form and the Goddess is called महासुरी....But since the Devas exist in the womb or the centre of the great Asura principle as the dynamic archetypal representatives of Svaymbhū, they must ultimately assert themselves and evolve a rhythm in the midst of chaos. This is the principle of the

महादेवी whose form is the essence of all the Devas like a towering pillar of fire....."

1.59. कालरात्रि, महारात्रि, मोहरात्रि—"...Rātri represents the principle of Darkness (Tamas) which is the larger substratum of Light or Creation. Wherever there is light the opposite principle of darkness also supervenes there. Darkness in the region of स्वयंभू is called महारात्रि, in that of परमेष्ठी it is called मोहरात्रि, and in the region of सूर्य it is कालरात्रि. The principle of Tamas or darkness in the region of चन्द्र and पृथिवी is referred to as दारुणरात्रि···Light is enveloped in the womb of Darkness. And so much of these five Piṇḍas or creative modalities is associated with an envelop that is essential to it as its finalising principle and is called its Rātri, and Ratri is the mother or womb which produces the Day... The word Rātri literally means the giver or producer from the root रा to give. In the Ṛgveda Rātri is spoken of as the source into which the whole cosmos is withdrawn—'जगतो निवेशिनीं' (Rv. 1.35.1).

स्वयंभू is called Tamas as the undifferentiated source or primeval centre of creation which is beyond all measurement and predication. Its next emanation is परमेष्ठी or the Universal which is also called Tamas, since on that level the Asuras or the unregulated forces predominate.

Both स्वयंभू and परमेष्ठी thus represent the two Rātris or Darknesses called महारात्रि and मोहरात्रि. The third stage is reached in सूर्य where relative time starts the distinction of day and night. It is therefore called कालरात्रि···"

1.62. परापराणां परमा—"...The transcendent is called परा and the immanent world of Matter अवरा or अपरा. The One Reality is split into two, viz. the world of spirit and of Matter; the former is Parārdha and the latter Avarārdha. There is the relative conception of the higher and the lower at several successive levels each preceding one spoken as the cause of the next to it and thus a chain of succession of cause and effect is formed. Here the Great Goddess is conceived of as standing highest in this chain of causation. She is the transcendent supreme source from which all causes, howsoever subtle and basic they be, originate."

1.63. सदसद्—"The existent and the non-existent, the former referring to Prāṇa or Spirit and the latter to Bhūta or Matter... Here it is stated that the Goddess comprehends both Sat and Asat and therefore she is rightly spoken of as अखिलात्मिका, the All embracing. As such she is beyond all categories contrasted as Sat and Asat, and therefore cannot be properly extolled with the help of word".

1.64. निद्रा—"At the time of dissolution Vishṇu enters the state of sleep, withdrawing all the worlds into his centre of rest. This implies a suspension of the creative activity of the Time principle. Here the idea is that it is the Great Goddess who induces this state of sleep or rest for Nārāyaṇa. When the periodic sleep of Vishṇu comes to an end, the impelling force of the time principle which gives the pendulum its return movement is also the Great Goddess. It is she who creates the three Guṇas and gives manifest form to Vishṇu, Brahmā and Śiva".

THE LEGEND OF THE CHURNING OF THE OCEAN IN THE EPICS AND THE PURĀṆAS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

By

V. M. Bedekar

[अस्मिन् निबन्धे समुद्रमन्थनाख्यानस्य तुलनात्मकं विवेचनं प्रस्तुतम्। सागरमन्थनस्याख्यानम् इतिहासपुराणेषु बहुलतया वर्णितं वर्तते। कैश्चिद् विद्वद्भिः वेदेऽपि अस्याख्यानस्य मूलमूहितम्। किं तु लेखकमहोदयस्य मतेन नास्ति तत्र सद्भावोऽस्य आख्यानस्य। एतदाख्यानं महाभारते रामायणे मत्स्य-विष्णु-ब्रह्माण्ड-पद्म-भागवत-अग्नि-स्कन्दपुराणेषु चोपलभ्यते। प्रस्तुतलेखे उक्तस्थलेषूपलब्धस्यास्याख्यानस्य तुलनात्मकमध्ययनम् षड्विभागेषु विभज्य प्रस्तुतम्। ते च विभागाः यथा—(i) आख्यानस्यावसरः (ii) सागरमन्थनस्योद्देश्यम् (iii) अमृतमन्थनस्य समारम्भः (iv) समुद्रमन्थनम् (v) समुद्रमन्थनत उद्भूताः पदार्थाः (vi) अमृतस्य देवेभ्यः प्रापणे विष्णोरुद्योग इति। प्रत्येकविभागान्तर्गतं विभिन्नग्रन्थेषु उपलब्धस्य अस्याख्यानस्य पृथक्-पृथक् विवरणं दत्त्वा तद्विभागान्ते टिप्पण्यां तत्तद्ग्रन्थस्याख्यानानां साम्यवैषम्ययोः प्रदर्शनं कृतम्। निबन्धस्यान्तिमे भागे लेखकमहोदयेन केचन निष्कर्षाः प्रस्तुताः। अत्र रत्नानां संख्याविषये विभिन्नग्रन्थेषु तेषां संख्यावैभिन्न्यविषयेऽपि च विवेचनं कृतम्। केषु ग्रन्थेषु रत्नाना संख्या सप्त, केषु द्वादश, केषु त्रिंशत् इत्यादि। विभिन्नकालेषु विशिष्टरत्नानां कल्पना विभिन्नसम्प्रदायविद्भिः कृतेति प्रतीयते। यथा कालकूटविषस्योल्लेखः केषुचिद् ग्रंथेषु न विद्यते अतः प्रतीयते यत् शैवैः तन्मन्थनं कल्पितम्। वैष्णवानाम् प्रभावस्तु समग्रे एव आख्याने वर्तते। शाक्तानां प्रभावोऽपि यत्र-तत्र दृश्यते, यथा विष्णुब्रह्माण्डपुराणयोः देवा लक्ष्मीं स्तुवन्ति।]

The Legend of the churning of the ocean and of entities & jewels' emerging therefrom appears to be very popular in post-Vedic Sanskrit Literature. The legend is not found in Vedic

Literature.[1] It is found in the two Epics—the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in the Purāṇa literature. In the present article, it is proposed to make a comparative study of the legend as it occurs in the following works :

(1) The Mahābhārata (Mbh). [The critical edition published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona].

(2) The Rāmāyaṇa (R) [The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa critical edition, published by the Oriental Institute, Baroda].

(3) The Matsya-Purāṇa (M) [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

(4) The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (Vi) [Edited and published by T. R. Vyasacharya, printed at the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1914].

(5) The Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa (Br.) [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

(6) The Padma-Purāṇa (P) [edited by V. N. Mandalik, Anandashrama, Poona].

(7) The Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam (Bhāg) [published by the Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay]

(8) The Āgneya-Mahāpurāṇa (A) [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

(9) The Skanda-mahā-purāṇa (SK). [Shri Venkateshwara Press, Bombay].

It is found that the legend, as it is told from work to work, differs in many respects in its several parts. For instance, there is no unanimity with regard to the number of entities which emerged from the ocean, or with regard to the sequence in which

1. G. Dumézil seeks to establish, despite the silence of the Veda, the existence of an Indo-European myth of the winning of the drink of immortality by means of the churning of the ocean. Geldner has suggested that references to the legend of the churning of the ocean are to be found in the *Rgveda* V-2-3 and I-163-3. Regarding the views of Dumèzil and Geldner and their assessment, see A. B. Keith, 'The Religion and the Philosophy of the Veda' Vol. 32 (Harward Oriental Series). Appendix D, pp, 623-624.

they emerged. In order to high-light the differences in the legend as it develops from one part to another, the story is divided for the purpose of present study into the following *six* sections : (I) The occasion for the story of (the churning of the ocean for Amṛta) Amṛta-manthana (AM). (II) The motive of the AM. (III) Preparations for the AM. (IV) The churning of the Ocean for AM. (V) Emergence of Amṛta and of other entities. (VI) Viṣṇu's intervention in the fight for Amṛta, to the advantage of the gods. This plan of division would, it is hoped, facilitate the study of the points of similarity and difference, as the legend develops from one part to another. Besides, with a view to bringing out the significant points, if any, during this comparative study, there are inserted in between within rectangular brackets notes by the present writer.

It will be noticed that in the following sections giving the development of the legend from one work to another, the Padma Purāṇa (P) has been referred to twice. It is because the P gives two different accounts of the legend in two different places viz. in its Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa and Uttarakhaṇḍa respectively. These two passages from P are therefore given a separate place in the following sections. P(Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa) and P(Uttarkhaṇḍa) are abbreviated to P (S) and P (U) respectively and are referred to as such in the sequel.

I. THE OCCASION FOR THE STORY OF AM

Mbh. 1. 15. 1-4

While narrating the story of the two sisters Kadrū and Vinatā as a part of the Āstīka legend, Sūta said to Śaunaka : "The two sisters beheld from near the divine horse Uccaiḥśravas—the best of the horses which arose while the Amṛta was being churned out." Thereupon, Śaunaka asked Sūta to tell him how and where the Amṛta was churned out during which process was born the illustrious horse.[2] Sūta then takes this occasion to tell the story of AM.

2. कथं तदमृतं देवैर्मथितं क्व च शंस मे।
यत्र जज्ञे महावीर्यः सोऽश्वराजो महाद्युतिः ॥
—Mbh. 1.15.4

R 1.44. 8-13 ; 1.45. 1-6 ; 1.46.10

Rāma seeing the city of Viśālā on the bank of the Gangā, asked Viśvāmitra to tell him the previous history of that city. Viśvāmitra told Rāma that the site where the city of Viśālā stood had been formerly the scene of great austerities practised by Diti the wife of Mārīca. As a part of the story as to why Diti practised austerities, Viśvāmitra tells Rāma the episode of AM in which the sons of Aditi got the Amṛta and killed the sons of Diti who grieving over the loss of her sons, practised penance in order to get a son who would conquer Indra and the three worlds.

M 249. 1-3

The sages, hearing from Sūta about the greatness of Nārāyaṇa, asked him to tell them how gods attained immortality. Sūta begins with saying that it was the two Gods Nārāyaṇa and Mahādeva who had helped the gods to attain immortality and proceeds towards the story of the AM.

Vi. 1. 9. 1-75.

Parāśara introduces the story of AM in answer to Maitreya's question as to how Viṣṇu came by Śrī or Lakṣmī. Paiāśara says :

"Once the Sage Durvāsas got a garland of celestial Santānaka flowers from a Vidyādharī, and gave it to Indra whom he

3. (रामः)···पप्रच्छ प्राञ्जलिर्भूत्वा विशालामुत्तमां पुरीम् ॥ 10
(मुनिपुंगवः) आख्यातुं तत् समारेभे विशालस्य पुरातनम् ॥ 12
अस्मिन्देशे हि यद्वृत्तं शृणु तत्त्वेन राघव ॥ 13
—R.1. 44.

4. ऋषय ऊचुः—
नारायणस्य माहात्म्यं श्रुत्वा सूत यथाक्रमम् ।
न तृप्तिर्जायतेस्माकमतः पुनरिहोच्यताम् ॥ 1
कथं देवा गताः पूर्वममरत्वं विचक्षणाः ।
तपसा कर्मणा वापि प्रसादात्कस्य तेजसा ॥ 2
सूत उवाच—
यत्र नारायणो देवो महादेवश्च शूलधृक् ।
तत्रामरत्वे सर्वेषां सहायौ तत्र तौ स्मृतौ ॥ 3
—M. 249.

happened to see on his way. Indra placed the garland on the head of his elephant Airāvata. The Airāvata threw down the garland. Durvāsas, enraged at this insult, cursed Indra to the effect that the latter would be deprived of his kingdom of the three worlds. Indra and the gods, thus deprived of their glory went along with Brahmā to Viṣṇu to pray to him for restoring them to their former splendour".[5]

5. तामादायात्मनो मूर्ध्नि स्रजमुन्मत्तरूपधृक् ।
कृत्वा स विप्रो मैत्रेय परिबभ्राम मेदिनीम् ॥ 6
स ददर्श तमायान्तमुन्मत्तैरावते स्थितम् ।
... . शचीपतिम् ॥ 7
तामात्मनः स शिरसः स्रजमुन्मत्तषट्पदाम् ।
आदायामरराजाय चिक्षेपोन्मत्तवन्मुनिः ॥ 8
गृहीत्वामरराजेन स्रगैरावतमूर्धनि ।
न्यस्ता रराज कैलासशिखरे जाह्नवी यथा ॥ 9
मदान्धकारिताक्षोऽसौ गन्धाकृष्टेन वारणः ।
करेणाघ्राय चिक्षेप तां स्रजं धरणीतले ॥ 10
ततश्चुकोप भगवान् दुर्वासा मुनिसत्तमः ।
मैत्रेय देवराजानं क्रुद्धश्चेदमुवाच ह ॥ 11
दुर्वासा उवाच—
ऐश्वर्यमददुष्टात्मन्नतिस्तब्धोऽसि वासव ।
श्रियो धाम स्रजं यस्त्वं मदृत्तां नाभिवन्दसि ॥ 12
....
मदृत्ता भवता माला यस्मात्क्षिप्ता महीतले ।
तस्मात्प्रणष्टलक्ष्मीकं त्रैलोक्यं ते भविष्यति ॥ 16
...
महेन्द्रो वारणल्कन्धादवतीर्यं त्वरान्वितः ।
प्रसादयामास मुनि दुर्वाससमकल्मषम् ॥ 18
... ...
ततः प्रभृति निःश्रीकं सशक्रं भुवनत्रयम् ।
... ... ॥ 26
विजिताखिलदैत्यैरिन्द्राद्याः शरणं ययुः ।
पितामहं महाभागं हुताशनपुरोगमाः ॥ 34
यथावत्कथितो देवैर्ब्रह्मा प्राह ततः सुरान् ।
परावरेशं शरणं व्रजध्वमसुरार्दनम् ॥ 35
... ...
एवमुक्त्वा सुरान् सर्वान् ब्रह्मा लोकपितामहः ।
क्षीरोदस्योत्तरं तीरं तैरेव सहितो ययौ ॥ 38
... ...

P (S) 5. 4. 1-27

Bhīṣma asks Pulastya to tell him about the birth of Kamalā or Lakṣmī from the milk-ocean. In reply, Pulastya tells the story of the churning of the ocean. He tells the episode of Durvāsas (cf. Vi-above) in which gods being deprived of their glory and power by the curse of Durvāsas, approached Viṣṇu to pray to him for restoring them to their former glory.

[Note 1 : This part of the story in P. concerning the Durvāsas episode is similar in substance and wording to that in Vi. For similarity in wording, compare P(S) 5.4.9-26 with Vi. 1. 9.6-75. The version in P. appears to be a summary of that in Vi.]

P (U) 6. 259. 1-39

Rudra says to Pārvatī : "I shall tell you about the greatness of Viṣṇu in his incarnation of the Tortoise".[6] Then he tells the episode of the curse of Durvāsas. Through the curse, Śrī or Lakṣmī, the embodiment of splendour and beauty disappeared from the world. Gods deprived of their glory approached along with Brahmā Lord Viṣṇu to pray to him for restoring to them their glory.

Br. 4. 9. 31-47

Indra molested Śaṅkara—Śaṅkara sent Durvāsas to curse Indra, as a result of which Indra and the gods lost their strength and glory[7] and were defeated by the demons in battle. Thereupon,

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प्रगम्य प्रणताः सर्वे संक्षोभस्तिमितेक्षणाः ।
तुष्टुवुः पुण्डरीकाक्षं पितामहपुरोगमाः ॥ 68
....
एवं संस्तूयमानस्तु प्रणतैरमरैर्हरिः ।
प्रसन्नदृष्टिर्भगवानिदमाह स विश्वकृत् ॥ 75 —1. 975

6. यत्कीर्मं वैभवं विष्णोः सर्वलोकनमस्कृतम् ।
तद्वक्ष्यामि प्रिये सम्यक् शृ शृण्वैकाग्रचेतसा ॥ 1
... .
ततः श्रीर्जगता धात्री क्षणादन्तर्दधे स्वयम्··· ॥ 10 —6.259

7. एतावन्तमिमं कालं त्रिलोकीं परिपालयन् ।
(भवान्) ऐश्वर्यमदमत्तत्वात्कैलासाद्रिमपीडयत् ॥

gods headed by Brahmadeva approached Viṣṇu for advice and help.

Bhāg. 8. 5. 9-14

Śuka, while narrating the great achievements of Hari or Viṣṇu, says to King Parīkṣit[8]: "Lord Viṣṇu incarnated himself as Ajita the son of Vairāja and his wife Sambhūti. In this incarnation as Ajita, the Lord got the ocean churned and secured ambrosia for the gods..." The king, thereupon, requests Śuka to narrate in more detail this particular feat of Viṣṇu. Śuka, in answer, relates the story of AM.

A. 3.

Agni said to Vasiṣṭha: "I shall now tell you about Viṣṇu's incarnation of the Tortoise."[9] Thus is introduced the story of the churning of the milk-ocean.

सर्वज्ञेन शिवेनाथ प्रेषितो भगवान्मुनिः ।
दुर्वासास्त्वन्मदभ्रंशं कर्तुकामः शशाप ह ॥
.....अधुना पश्य निःश्रीकं त्रैलोक्यं समजायत ॥.....
इत्थं कथयतोरेव बृहस्पतिमहेन्द्रयोः ।
मलकाद्या महादैत्याः स्वर्गलोकं बबाधिरे ॥
.....
अथ ब्रह्मादयो देवा भगवन्तं जनार्दनम् ।
तुष्टुवुर्वाग्विरिष्टाभिः सर्वलोकमहेश्वरम् ॥
—4-9-30-47

8. शुकः—
तत्रापि देवैः संभूत्यां वैराजस्याभवत्सुत. ।
अजितो नाम भगवानंशेन जगतः पतिः ॥ 9
पयोधिं येन निर्मथ्य सुराणां साधिता सुधा ।
..... ॥ 10
राजा—
यथा भगवता ब्रह्मन् मथितः क्षीरसागरः ।
..... ॥ 11
यथामृतं सुरैः प्राप्तं किं चान्यदभवत्ततः ।
एतद् भगवतः कर्म वदस्व परमाद्भुतम् ॥ 12
9. वक्ष्ये कूर्मावतारं च संश्रुतं पापनाशनम् ।
..... ॥ 1

SK. 1. 1. 8. 128 to 1. 1. 9. 1-31

The Sage Lomaśa says to the Sages that he would tell them how Śiva came to drink poison[10] and narrates the story which led to the churning of the ocean for ambrosia. He introduces the story as follows: Bṛhaspati, the preceptor of the gods, felt insulted at the insolent behaviour of Indra and left Indra. The gods were defeated by the demons. Consequently, the goddess Śrī, and the 'jewels' like Airāvata, the elephant and Uccaiḥśravas, the horse fell into the ocean and left the gods who, thus, were deprived of their glory. Then the gods headed by Brahmā approached Viṣṇu for advice and help.[11]

[Note 2: To sum up:

Mbh. introduces the story to explain the birth of the horse Uccaiḥśravas and R. to explain how and why the demons were defeated. M, Bhāg, P(U), A introduce the story to bring out the greatness of Viṣṇu. Vi, P(S), Br. introduce the story to explain the disappearance of Lakṣmī and her eventual restoration. SK introduces the story to explain why Śiva drank poison.]

10. कथं गरं भक्षितवान् शिवो लोकमहेश्वरः ।
तत्सर्वं श्र यतां विप्राः यथावत् कथयामि वः ॥
—1.1.8.128

11. आगतोऽसौ महाभागो बृहस्पतिरुदारधीः ।
शक्रं प्रमत्तं ज्ञात्वाथ मदाद्राज्यस्य दुर्मतिम् ॥
तिरोधानमनुप्राप्तो बृहस्पतौ रुषान्वितः ।
देवाः पराजिता दैत्यैः ..... ॥
शक्रोऽपि जातो निःश्रीको देवैस्त्यक्तस्ततो भृशम् ।
देवी तिरोधानगता बभूव कमलेक्षणा ॥
ऐरावतो महानागस्तथैवोच्चैःश्रवा हयः ।
एवमादीनि रत्नानि अनेकानि बहून्यपि ॥
पुण्यभाञ्जि च तान्येन पतितानि च सागरे ।
तथेति गत्वा ते सर्वे शक्राद्या लोकपालकाः ॥
ब्रह्माणं च पुरस्कृत्य तटं क्षीरार्णवस्य च ।
प्राप्योपविश्य ते सर्वे हरिं स्तोतुं प्रचक्रमुः ॥
1.1.9.3-28

II. The Motive of the AM

Mbh. 1. 15. 5—13

Gods actuated by the object of obtaining Amṛta (ambrosia), which would make them immortal, got together on mount Meru to hold consultations regarding the plan of action that would lead them to the realization of their aim. While the gods were thinking and deliberating, God Nārāyaṇa proposed to the gods through Brahman (Brahmadeva) as follows: "Let the gods and the demons together churn the ocean. There will appear Amṛta when the ocean is thus churned."[12]

R. 1. 44. 14-16

The great sons of Diti and Aditi thought among themselves:[13] "How shall we be deathless, ageless and without disease ?" They hit upon the idea of churning the milky ocean and getting the elixir out of it.

M. 249. 4–16

Sūta proceeds:

'Śukrācārya acquired the Saṁjīvanī Vidyā (the art of bringing the dead to life) from Śaṅkara and used it in the battle

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12. (मेरोः) तस्य पृष्ठमुपारुह्य बहुरत्नाचितं शुभम् । 9
ते मन्त्रयितुमारब्धास्तत्रासीना दिवौकसः ।
अमृतार्थे समागम्य तपोनियमसंस्थिताः ॥ 10
तत्र नारायणो देवो ब्रह्माणमिदमब्रवीत् ।
चिन्तयत्सु सुरेष्वेवं मन्त्रयत्सु च सर्वशः ॥ 11
देवैरसुरसंघैश्च मथ्यता कलशोदधिः ।
भविष्यत्यमृतं तत्र मथ्यमाने महोदधौ ॥ 12
—Mbh. 1. 15

13. पूर्वं कृतयुगे राम दितेः पुत्रा महाबलाः ।
अदितेश्च महाभागा वीर्यवन्तः सुधार्मिकाः ॥ 14
ततस्तेषां नरश्रेष्ठ बुद्धिरासीन्महात्मनाम् ।
अमरा निर्जराश्चैव कथं स्याम निरामयाः ॥ 15
तेषां चिन्तयतां राम बुद्धिरासीद्विपश्चिताम् ।
क्षीरोदमथनं कृत्वा रसं प्राप्स्याम तत्र वै ॥ 16
—R. 1. 44

between the demons and the gods to revive the demons who were killed. Indra and other gods, seeing that the gods were being killed by hundreds while the demons, though killed, were being revived, got dejected.[14] Brahmā suggesting a remedy said to the gods assembled on mount Meru[15] : "Make friends with the demons. Work out the plan of securing Amṛta. Churn out the ocean. Make Bali, the king of the demons, the head or leader for some time." Thus gods were motivated by the desire to get Amṛta which would enable them to meet the challenge of the demons.

Vi. 1. 9. 74-81

When the gods implored Viṣṇu to strengthen them with his own power, Viṣṇu said to them : "I shall add to your strengh, if you do what I shall tell you to do. Churn the milk-ocean along with the demons. With the *ambrosia* which will emerge during the process of churning, you will get not only strength but also immortality."[16]

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14. पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे हताश्च शतशः सुराः ।
पुनः सञ्जीवनीं विद्यां प्रयोज्य भृगुनन्दनः ॥ 4
तस्य तुष्टेन देवेन शङ्करेण महात्मना ।
मृतसञ्जीवनी नाम विद्या दत्ता महाप्रभा ॥ 5-6
तत्र देवैर्हतान्दैत्याञ्शुक्रो विद्याबलेन च ।
उत्थापयति दैत्येन्द्रांल्लीलयैव विचक्षणः ॥ 10
एवंविधेन शक्रस्तु···विषण्णवदनाः सर्वे बभूवुः··· ।
तेषु विषण्णेषु भगवान् कमलोद्भव आह··· ॥ 11-12

15. देवाः शृणुत मद्वाक्यम् । दानवैः सार्धं सख्यमत्र प्रवर्तताम् ॥ 13
क्रियताममृतोद्योगो मथ्यतां क्षीरवारिधिः । ··· 14
दानवेन्द्रो बलिः स्वामी स्तोककालं निवेश्यताम् ॥ 15
—M. 249

16. त्वं प्रसादं प्रसन्नात्मन् प्रपन्नानां कुरुष्व नः ।
तेजसा नाथ सर्वेषां स्वशक्त्याऽऽप्यायनं कुरु ॥ 74
श्रीभगवानुवाच—
तेजसो भवतां देवाः करिष्याम्युपबृंहणम् ।
वदाम्यहं यत्क्रियतां भवद्भिस्तदिदं सुराः ॥ 76
आनीय सहिता दैत्यैः क्षीराब्धौ सकलौषधीः ।
मथ्यतामसृतं देवाः सहाये मय्यवस्थिते ॥ 77-78

P(s)5. 4. 28-33

In response to the appeal of the gods, Viṣṇu asks them to churn the ocean, in cooperation with the demons and assures them all help.

[*Note 3*: This part of P. agrees with the corresponding part of Vi. in wording and substance].

P(u)6. 259. 40-43

(Rudra continues his narration to Pārvatī :)

Viṣṇu said[17] to the gods that it was on account of the disappearance of Ramā or Lakṣmī that they had lost their vigour and strength. Therefore he asked them to churn the milk-ocean in cooperation with the demons, for getting back Lakṣmī who will emerge out of the ocean. He assured them his own help and disappeared.

Br. 4. 9. 48-54

With a view to restoring the gods back to their power and glory, Viṣṇu advised them to make truce with the demons and churn the ocean for ambrosia, in cooperation with them. He assured them that the ambrosia which would be produced from the churned ocean would make them strong and immortal.[18]

मथ्यमाने च तत्राब्धौ यत्समुत्पत्स्यतेऽमृतम् ।
तत्पानाद् बलिनो यूयममराश्च भविष्यथ ॥ 80

—1.9

17. श्रीभगवानुवाच—
अत्रिसूनोर्मुनेः शापादन्तर्धानं रमा गता ।
कटाक्षदर्शनात्तस्या जगदैश्वर्यसंयुतम् ॥ 40
कुरुध्वं मन्थनं देवा दैत्यगन्धर्वदानवैः ॥ 42
उत्पद्यते च सा लक्ष्मीर्जगत्संरक्षणाय वै ।
तया दृष्टा महाभागा भविष्यथ न संशयः ॥ 43

—6.259.

18. समस्तदानवाश्चापि वक्तव्याः सान्त्वपूर्वकम् ।
सामान्यमेव युष्माकमस्माकं च फलं त्विति ॥ 52

He also said that he would see to it that the demons did not get the ambrosia in spite of their labours.

Bhāg. 8. 5-15—8. 6-26

Śuka said to the King[18]: "The gods, shorn of their strength and vigour by the curse of Durvāsas, were vanquished in battle by the demons. The gods, thereupon, headed by Brahmadeva approached Ajita (Viṣṇu) to seek his help in their distress. In response to the prayer which Brahmā addressed on behalf of the gods, Hari appeared before them with all his glory. Brahmā, again sang a hymn of praise to him. The Lord then replied : "Go and conclude a truce with the demons. Set about the task of producing ambrosia which will bring about immortality. I shall help you in your churning of the ocean".

मथ्यमाने तु दुग्धाब्धौ या समुत्पद्यते सुधा ।
तत्पानाद्बलिनो यूयममर्त्याश्च भविष्यथ ॥ 53
यथा दैत्याश्च पीयूषं नैतत्प्राप्स्यन्ति किंचन ।
केवलं क्लेशवन्तश्च करिष्यामि तथा ह्यहम् ॥ 54
—4.9.

19. यदा युद्धेऽसुरैर्देवा बाध्यमानाः शितायुधैः ।
गतासवो निपतिता नोत्तिष्ठेरन् स्म भूयशः ॥ 15
यदा दुर्वाससः शापात्सेन्द्रा लोकास्त्रयो नृप ।
नि.श्रीकाश्चाभवंस्तत्र नेशुरिज्यादिकाः क्रियाः ॥ 16
निशाम्यैतत्सुरगणा महेन्द्रवरुणादयः ।
…ततो ब्रह्मसभां जग्मुर्मेरोर्मूर्धनि सर्वशः ॥ 17-18
(ब्रह्मा उवाच)
तस्माद्व्रजामः शरणं जगद्गुरुं…स नो धास्यति शं सुरप्रियः ॥ 23
इत्याभाष्य सुरान् वेधाः सहदेवैररिन्दम ।
अजितस्य पदं साक्षाज्जगाम तमसः परम् ॥ 24
—8.5

यात दानवदैतेयैस्तावत्सन्धिर्विधीयताम् । 19
अमृतोत्पादने यत्नः क्रियतामविलम्बितम् ।
यस्य पीतस्य वै जन्तुर्मृत्युग्रस्तोऽमरो भवेत् ॥ 21
सहायेन मया देवा निर्मथध्वम् अतन्द्रिताः ॥ 23
—8.6

A. 3.1–5

Agni said :[20] "The gods were deprived of their vigour and strength on account of the curse of Durvāsas and were defeated by the demons. They, therefore, approached Viṣṇu for succour. Viṣṇu advised them to make truce with the demons and churn the ocean for ambrosia with their cooperation. Viṣṇu also assured them that he would see that they, not the demons, would get Amṛta.

SK. 1.1.9.32–63

Viṣṇu asked[21] Indra to make peace with the demons. Indra accordingly, went to Bali the king of the demons and after

20. पुरा देवासुरे युद्धे दैत्यैर्देवाः पराजिताः ।।
... ... ।। 1
दुर्वाससश्च शापेन नि.श्रीकाश्चाभवंस्तदा ।
स्तुत्वा क्षीराब्धिगं विष्णुमूचुः पालय चासुरात् ।। 2
ब्रह्मादिकान् हरिः प्राह सन्धिं कुर्वन्तु चासुरैः ।
क्षीराब्धिमथनार्थं हि अमृतार्थं श्रियेऽसुराः ।। 3
युष्मानमृतभाजोऽथ करिष्यामि न दानवान् ।। ...4
—A .3

21. श्रीभगवान् उवाच—
गुरोरवज्ञया सर्वं नश्यतीति किमद्भुतम् ।—32
तेन वै कारणेनेन्द्र मदीयं वचनं कुरु ।
कार्यहेतोस्त्वया कार्यो दैत्यैः सह समागमः ।। 35
एवं भगवतादिष्टः शक्रः परमबुद्धिमान् ।
अमरावतीं ययौ हित्वा सुतलं दैवतैः सह ।। 36
एकदा तु सभामध्ये आसीनो देवराट् स्वयम् ।
उवाच प्रहसन् वाक्यं बलिमुद्दिश्य नीतिमान् ।। 56
गजादीनि बहून्येव रत्नानि विविधानि च ।
गतानि तत्क्षणादेव सागरे पतितानि वै ।।
प्रयत्नो हि प्रकर्तव्यो ह्यस्माभिस्त्वरयान्वितैः ।
तेषां चोद्धरणे दैत्य रत्नानामिह सागरात् ।
तर्हि निर्मथनं कार्यं भवता कार्यसिद्धये ।
बलिः प्रवर्तितस्तेन शक्रेण सुरसूदनः ।।
उवाच शक्रं त्वरितः केनेदं मथनं भवेत् ।
तदा नभोगता वाणी मेघगम्भीरनिःस्वना ।।
उवाच देवा दैत्याश्च मन्थध्वं क्षीरसागरम् ।
भवतां बलवृद्धिश्च भविष्यति न संशयः ।। 57-62
—1.1.9 (Selected)

conciliating him, said : "Our best 'jewels' have disappeared into the ocean. Let us churn the ocean to recover them." Then Bali asked Indra as to how to set about churning the ocean. At that moment, a disembodied voice from the sky exclaimed : "Oh gods and demons! churn the milk-ocean. It will increase your strength." Thereupon the gods and the demons undertook to churn the ocean, with the object of gaining strength and vigour.

[Note 4 : All texts except P (U) and SK are agreed that the motive behind the churning of the ocean is the desire to obtain the drink which would confer strength and immortality. P (U), says that the motive is the desire to get back Lakṣmī who had disappeared, which however, allegorically means the same thing as Lakṣmī is the goddess of strength, vigour and glory. SK adds that the motive is also the desire to recover the 'jewels' which had disappeared into the ocean.]

III. Preparations for the AM

Mbh. 1.16.1-13

The gods wanted the Mandara mountain to use it as a churning-stick for churning the ocean. But they could not lift the Mandara from its place[22]. They requested Viṣṇu and

22. (मन्दरं पर्वतवरं) तमुद्धर्तुं न शक्ता वै सर्वे देवगणास्तदा ।
विष्णुमासीनमभ्येत्य ब्रह्माणं चेदमब्रुवन् ॥ 4
भवन्तावत्र कुरुतां बुद्धिं नैःश्रेयसीं पराम् ।
मन्दरोद्धरणे यत्नः क्रियतां च हिताय नः ॥ 5
तथेति चाब्रवीद्विष्णुः ब्रह्मणा सह भार्गव ।
ततोऽनन्तः समुत्थाय ब्रह्मणा परिचोदितः ।
नारायणेन चाप्युक्तस्तस्मिन् कर्मणि वीर्यवान् ॥ 6
अथ पर्वतराजानं तमनन्तो महाबलः ।
उज्जहार बलाद्ब्रह्मन् सवनं सवनौकसम् ॥ 7
ततस्तेन सुराः सार्धं समुद्रमुपतस्थिरे ।
तमूचुरमृतार्थाय निर्मथिष्यामहे जलम् ॥ 8
... ...
ऊचुश्च कूर्मराजानमकूपारं सुरासुराः ।
गिरेरधिष्ठानमस्य भवान् भवितुमर्हति ॥ 10

M. 249. 17–54

As asked by Brahman, the gods[25] approached the king of the demons and sought his cooperation. The king of the demons

25. तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनं देवा जग्मुर्दानवमन्दिरम् ।
अलं विरोधेन वयं भृत्यास्तव बलेऽधुना ॥ 17
क्रियतामभृतोद्योगो क्रियतां शेषनेत्रकम् ।
त्वया चोत्पादिते दैत्य अमृतेऽमृतमन्थने ॥ 18
भविष्यामोऽमराः सर्वे त्वत्प्रसादान्न संशयः ।
एवमुक्तस्तदा देवैः परितुष्टः स दानवः ॥ 19
यथा वदत हे देवास्तथा कार्यं मयाधुना ॥ 20
... ...
एवमुक्त्वा स दैत्येन्द्रो देवैः सह ययौ तदा ।
मन्दरं प्रार्थयामास सहायत्वे धराधरम् ॥ 23
मन्था भव तवास्माकमधुनामृतमन्थने । 24
... ...
तत उत्पाट्य तं शैलं तत्क्षणात्क्षीरसागरे ।
चिक्षेप लीलया नागः कूर्मश्चाधः स्थितस्तदा ॥ 30
निराधारं यदा शैलं न शेकुर्देवदानवाः ।
मन्दरभ्रामणं कर्तुं क्षीरोदमथने तदा ॥ 31
नारायणनिवासं ते जग्मुर्बलसमन्विताः । 32
तत्रापश्यन्त तं देवं सितपद्मप्रभं शुभम् । 33
... ...
सव्यबाहूपधानं तं तुष्टुवुर्देवदानवाः ।
कृताञ्जलिपुटाः सर्वे प्रणताः सर्वतोदिशम् ॥ 36
... ...
अस्माकममरत्वाय क्रियतां क्रियतामयम् ।
मन्दरः सर्वशैलानामयुतायुतविस्तृतः ॥ 43
... ...
यथामृतत्वं देवेश तथा नः कुरु माधव ।
त्वया विना न तच्छक्यमस्माभिः कैटभार्दन ॥ ॥ 48
... ...
(इत्युक्तो भगवान् विष्णुः) जगाम देवैः सहितो यत्रासौ मन्दराचलः ।
वेष्टितो भोगिभोगेन धृतश्चामरदानवैः ॥ 50
विषभीतास्ततो देवा यतः पुच्छं ततः स्थिताः ।
मुखतो दैत्यसङ्घास्तु सँहिकेयपुरस्सराः ॥ 51
दधारामृतमन्थानं मन्दरं चारुकन्दरम् ।
नारायणः स भगवान् भुजयुग्मद्वयेन तु ॥ 53
ततो देवासुरैः सर्वैर्जयशब्दपुरस्सरम् ।
दिव्यं वर्षशतं साग्रं मथितः क्षीरसागरः ॥ 54 —M. 249.

offered his cooperation most willingly and went with the gods to the Mandara mountain to request him to serve as a churning-staff. Mandara offered to be the churning-staff, if an appropriate and adequate base for him to rest upon and an sufficiently long and strong churning-string to coil round him were made available. The tortoise and the serpent Śeṣa came forth to do the respective jobs. But Śeṣa in his arrogance moved the Mandara mountain so violently that it could not rest on the back of the tortoise. The Mandara mountain, thus with no base to rest upon, could not be properly whirled by the gods and the demons for churning the ocean. To rescue themselves from this difficult situation, the gods and the demons approached Nārāyaṇa and prayed to him for help. Thereupon, Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu went with the gods and the demons to the place where the Mandara mountain stood, coiled round by the coils of Śeṣa. The gods, afraid of the venom of the serpent, stood on the side of the serpent's tail and the demons headed by Rāhu stood on the side of the serpent's mouth. Nārāyaṇa, then, supported with the prop of his four arms the Mandara mountain which was the churning-staff and the gods and the demons churned the milky ocean.

Vi. 1. 9. 82—88

The gods in league with the demons exerted themselver for getting the ambrosia. They brought plants and herbs and threw them into the milk ocean. They made Mandara into a churning staff and Vāsuki into a churning rope and commenced churning

26. सर्वं एव तदा सुराः । सन्धानमसुरैः कृत्वा यत्नवन्तोऽमृतेऽभवन् ॥ 82
नानौषधीः समानीय देवदैतेयदानवा. ।
क्षिप्त्वा क्षीराब्धिपयसि शरदभ्रामलत्विषि ॥ 83
मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा नेत्रं कृत्वा च वासुकिम् ।
ततो मथितुमारब्धा मैत्रेय तरसामृतम् ॥ 84
विबुधाः सहिताः सर्वे यतः पुच्छं ततः कृताः ।
कृष्णेन वासुकेर्दैत्याः पूर्वकाये निवेशिता. ॥ 85
... ...
क्षीराब्धिमध्ये भगवान् कूर्मरूपी स्वयं हरिः ।
मन्थनाद्रेरधिष्ठानं भ्रमतोऽभून्महामुने ॥ 88

the ocean. The demons took their position by the side of the head of the serpent while the gods posted themselves by the side of its tail. Viṣṇu assumed the form of the tortorise and provided the resting place for the churning staff of the Mandara.

P(s) 5. 4-34--42

[Note 5 : This part of P. agrees with the corresponding part of Vi in substance and almost in wording.]

P(u) 6. 260.1--4

(Śaṅkara continues his narration to Pārvatī.)

The gods and the demons lifted up the Mandara mountain and immersed it into the ocean. Lord Nārāyaṇa assumed the form of a tortoise and supported the mountain on his back. He also held the peak of the mountain erect by his hand. The gods and the demons wound the serpent king around the Mandara mountain and began to churn.

Br. 4. 9. 55--57

The gods made truce[38] with the demons. They with the demons collected lots of herbs and plants and threw them into the

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27. ततः सुरगणाः सर्वे दानवाद्या महाबलाः ।
उत्पाट्य मन्दरं शैलं चिक्षिपुः पयसा निधौ ॥ 1
ततो नारायणः श्रीमान् भगवान् भूतभावनः ।
कूर्मरूपेण तं शैलं दधाराभितविक्रमः ॥ 2
··· अधारयद् गिरिवरं स पृष्ठे जगदीश्वरः···॥ 3
तथैकेन भुजेनैव शिखरं सर्वगोऽव्ययः ।
ततो देवासुराः सर्वे ममन्थुः क्षीरसागरम् ॥ 4
सर्पराजेन संवेष्ट्य घर्घरं मन्दराचलम्···। 5

—6. 260

28. संधानं त्वतुलैर्दैत्यैः कृतवन्तस्तदा सुराः ।
नानाविधौषधिगणं समानीय सुरासुराः ॥ 55
क्षीराब्धिपयसि क्षिप्त्वा चन्द्रमोऽधिकनिर्मलम् ।
मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा कृत्वा योक्त्रं तु वासुकिम् ॥
प्रारेभिरे प्रयत्नेन मंथितुं यादसां पतिम् ॥ 56
वासुकेः पुच्छभागे तु सहिताः सर्वदेवताः ।
शिरोभागे तु दैतेया नियुक्तास्तत्र शौरिणा ॥ 57

—4-9.

milk-ocean. They made a churning staff of the Mandara mountain and a churning rope of Vāsuki, the great serpent. On the advice of Viṣṇu they stood on the side of the serpent's tail while the demons took up their position on the side of the serpent's head.

Bhāg. 8. 6. 27 to 8. 7. 13

Then the gods headed by Mahendra, approached Bali, the king of the demons, and sought his cooperation for the AM. Bali agreed and the gods and the demons making friends entered into an agreement in the task of securing ambrosia. They, then, uplifted the Mandara mountain and tried to carry it to the ocean. But overwhelmed under its weight, they sank on the ground underneath. Viṣṇu came to their succour, he placed the Mandara mountain on the eagle and came to the ocean. The gods invited Vāsuki to serve as the churning rope and wound him around the churning staff of the Mandra. The gods held the tail and the demons the mouth of the serpent. When they both pulled and whirled the mountain, it sank into the water for want of support from underneath. Again Viṣṇu assumed the form of the tortoise for providing support to the mountain and saved the situation.[20]

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29. ते वैरोचनिमासीनं गुप्तं चासुरयूथपैः ।
श्रिया परमया जुष्टं जिताशेषमुपागमत् ॥ 29
महेन्द्रः श्लक्ष्णया वाचा सान्त्वयित्वा महामतिः ।
अभ्यभाषत तत्सर्वं शिक्षितं पुरुषोत्तमात् ॥ 30
ततो देवासुराः कृत्वा संविदं कृतसौहृदाः ।
उद्यमं परमं चक्रुरमृतार्थे परंतप ॥ 32
ततस्ते मन्दरगिरिमोजसोत्पाट्य दुर्मदाः ...।
अपारयन्तस्तं वोढुं विवशा विजहुः पथि ॥ 33-34
... ...
तांस्तथा भग्नमनसो भग्नबाहूरुकन्धरान् ।
विज्ञाय भगवांस्तत्र बभूव गरुडध्वजः ॥ 36
... ...
गिरिं चारोप्य गरुडे हस्तेनैकेन लीलया ।
आरुह्य प्रययावब्धिं सुरासुरगणैर्वृतः ॥ 38 —8. 6
ते नागराजमामन्त्र्य फलभागेन वासुकिम् ।
परिवीयं गिरौ तस्मिन्नेत्रमब्धिं मुदान्विताः ॥ (1)
मथ्यमानेऽर्णवे सोऽद्रिरनाधारो ह्यपोऽविशत् ॥ 5
विलोक्य विघ्नेशविधिं तदेश्वरो दुरन्तवीर्योऽवितथाभिसन्धिः ।
कृत्वा वपुः काच्छपमद्भुतं महत् प्रविश्य तोयं गिरिमुज्जहार ॥ 8 —8. 7

his hand. Regarding the serpent, all texts except M agree that it is Vāsuki. M says that it is Śeṣa.]

IV. The Churning of the Ocean for AM

Mbh. 1. 16. 14–32

While the snake Vāsuki was being pulled vigorously by the gods, there issued forth from its mouth repeatedly gases mixed with smoke and flames.[32] These columns of smoke turned into masses of clouds and rained over the gods who were afflicted by the toils and torments while churning the ocean. The ocean which was being churned with the Mandara by the gods and the demons produced a roaring sound like the thunder of the clouds.[33] while the Mandara mountain was being whirled, big trees rubbing against one another tumbled down with the birds perching on them from the mountain-top. Various kinds of exuding gums of big trees as also many juices of herbs and plants flowed into the waters of the ocean. On account of the foamy milk like water mixed with those juices which had the potency of Amṛta and also on account of the liquid extract of gold (mixed with the waters), gods attained immortality.[34] The milky water of the

32. वासुकेरथ नागस्य सहसाक्षिप्यतः सुरैः ।
सधूमाः सार्चिषो वाता निष्पेतुरसकृन्मुखात् ॥ 15
ते धूमसंघाः संभूता मेघसंघा सविद्युतः ।
अभ्यवर्षन्सुरगणाञ्श्रमसंतापकर्शितान् ॥ 16

33. बभूवात्र महाघोषो महामेघरवोपमः ।
उदधेर्मथ्यमानस्य मन्दरेण सुरासुरैः ॥ 18
... ...
तस्मिंश्च भ्राम्यमाणेऽद्रौ संघृष्यन्तः परस्परम् ।
न्यपतन्पतगोपेता. पर्वताग्रान्महाद्रुमाः ॥ 21
... ...
ततो नानाविधास्तत्र सुस्रुवुः सागराम्भसि ।
महाद्रुमाणां निर्यासा बहवश्चौषधीरसाः ॥ 25

Mbh 1-16.

34. तेषाममृतवीर्याणां रसानां पयसैव च ।
अमरत्वं सुरा जग्मुः काञ्चनस्य च निःस्रवात् ॥ 26
अथ तस्य समुद्रस्य तज्जातमुदकं पयः ।
रसोत्तमैर्विमिश्रं च ततः क्षीरादभूद्घृतम् ॥ 27

sea got mixed with the quintessential juices and from such milkily fluid came forth (like clarified butter) refined extracts. The gods said to Brahman: "Except Nārāyaṇa, we gods and demons are extremely tired, we have been churning the ocean long since; yet Amṛta is not produced." Thereupon Brahman urged Viṣṇu to grant strength to the gods and others. Viṣṇu agreed and replied: 'I grant strength to all those who have been engaged in this work. Let this pitcher (of the ocean) be agitated, let this churn-staff of Mandara be whirled round by all."

Hearing the speech of Nārāyaṇa, they felt strengthened and all of them together again churned and made the waters of the ocean exceedingly agitated.[35]

M. 249. 55–68

The gods and demons were tired by this labour of churning. The gods, who were almost broken, were inspired by Brahman with encouraging words to continue the churning. While the mountain with its animals and trees was being whirled round during churning, the milky waters of the ocean got mixed with sap of broken trees and plants and with the fat of dead animals, and the churned mixture gave forth an exhilerating drink (called Vārunī). The gods and the demons drank this drink, and feeling strong, set themselves again to churning the ocean with added vigour.

ततो ब्रह्माणमासीनं देवा वरदमब्रुवन् ।
श्रान्ता स्म सुभृशं ब्रह्मन्नोद्भवत्यमृतं च तत् ॥ 28
ऋते नारायणं देवं दैत्यानागोत्तमास्तथा ।
चिरारब्धमिदं चापि सागरस्यापि मन्थनम् ॥ 29
ततो नारायणं देवं ब्रह्मा वचनमब्रवीत् ।
विवत्सर्वैषा बलं विष्णो भवानत्र परायणम् ॥ 30
विष्णुरुवाच—
बलं ददामि सर्वेषां कर्मैतद्ये समास्थिताः ।
क्षोभ्यता कलशः सर्वैर्मन्दरः परिवर्त्यताम् ॥ 31

—Mbh 1-16

35. नारायणवचः श्रुत्वा बलिनस्ते महोदधेः ।
तत्पयः सहिता भूयश्चक्रिरे भृशमाकुलम् ॥ 32

M. 249. 69--82 and 250. 1

For the account in the story contained in this passage, see above Mbh 1. 16. 18--31.

[Note 7 : The stanzas in this passage are almost verbatim the same as those in Mbh 1. 16. 18--31]

[Note 8 : M, it will be noticed, has two versions of the actual churning of the ocean. According to M 249. 55--68, Vāruṇī is produced in very initial stage, to invigorate the gods and the demons. In M 249. 69--82 which follows the above description, the account is the same as that in Mbh. From the agreement of the second version with the Mbh one can conclude that the passage M 249.55-68 giving the first version must be interpolated.]

Vi. 1. 9. 89--91

While the gods and the demons holding the churning-rope of Vāsuki, churned the ocean, Viṣṇu assumed two forms ; one of them joined the gods and helped them in pulling the churing-rope,

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36. ततः श्रान्तास्तु ते सर्वे देवा दैत्यपुरस्सराः···॥ 55
··· ··· ···
ब्रह्मप्रोत्साहिता देवा ममन्थुः पुनरम्बुधिम् ।
भ्राम्यमाणे ततःशैले योजनायुतशेखरे ॥ 58
निपेतुर्हस्तियूथानि वराहशरभादयः ।
श्वापदायुतलक्षाणि तथा पुष्पफला द्रुमाः ॥ 59
ततः फलानां वीर्येण पुष्पौषधिरसेन च ।
क्षीरमम्बुधिजं सर्वं दधिरूपमजायत ॥ 60
ततस्तु सर्वजीवेषु चूर्णितेषु सहस्रशः ।
तदम्बुमेदसोत्सर्गाद् वारुणी समपद्यत ॥ 61
वारुणी गन्धमाघ्राय मुमुदुर्देवदानवाः ।
तदास्वादेन बलिनो देवदैत्याद्ययोऽभवन् ॥ 62
··· ··· ···

--M. 249,

37. रूपेणान्येन देवानां मध्ये चक्रगदाधरः ।
चकर्ष नागराजानं दैत्यमध्येऽपरेण च ॥ 89
तेजसा नागराजानं तथाऽऽध्यायितवान् हरिः ।
अन्येन तेजसा देवानुपबृंहितवान् प्रभुः ॥ 91

--109

while the other joined the demons. Viṣṇu increased the strength and vigour of the serpent king Vāsuki and also of the gods.

P (a) 5-4. 43

Viṣṇu increased the strength of the gods by his power.

[Note 9 : This part of P appears to be an abbreviation of the corresponding part in Vi. In fact, P 5. 4. 43 (the present verse) agrees in wording with Vi 1-9-91 cd. to 92 ab.]

P (b) 6-260.5--9

While the ocean was being churned for the production of Lakṣmī, the great sages fasted, observed religions observances and recited the hymn to Lakṣmī (Śrīsūkta).

Br. 4-9-58--64

While churning the ocean, the demons were scorched by the burning fumes of the serpent's breath, whereas the gods were, by Viṣṇu's favour, refreshed by gentle winds. Viṣṇu, assuming the form of the tortoise, supported on his back the whirling Mandara mountain. Viṣṇu also increased the strength and vigour of the gods to enable them to withstand the strain of churning.

58. मथ्यमानेऽब्धौ दुग्धाब्धौ दैवतैः सुमहाबलैः ॥ 5
उत्पादनार्थं लक्ष्म्याश्च सर्वे एते महर्षयः ।
उपोष्य नियमं कृत्वा जेपुः श्रीसूक्तमेव च ॥ 6
श्रुत्वा समर्चयामासुर्द्विजाग्र्याः मुनिसत्तमाः ।
ततस्तस्मिन् मुहूर्ते तु मथ्यमाने महाम्बुधौ ॥ 7

59. बलवन्तोऽपि ते दैत्यास्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासपावकैः ।
निर्दग्धवपुषः सर्वे निस्तेजस्कास्तदाभवन् ॥ 58
पुच्छदेशे तु कर्षन्तो मुहुराप्यायिताः सुराः ।
अनुकूलेन वातेन विष्णुना प्रेरितेन तु ॥ 59
आदिकूर्मवपुः श्रीमान्मध्ये क्षीरपयोनिधेः ।
भ्रमतो मन्दराद्रेस्तु तस्याधिष्ठानतामगात् ॥ 60
... ...
उपबृंहितवान् देवान् येन ते बलशालिनः ।
तेजसा पुनरन्येन बलात्कारसहेन सः ॥ 63

Bhāg. 8. 7. 14—17

During the churning, the demons, who pulled the churnig-rope of the serpent from the side of its mouth, were scorched and burned by the scalding vaporous venom, whereas the gods, who pulled from the tail, escaped this painful fate through the grace of Lord Viṣṇu who changed these hot vapours into rain clouds discharging refreshing showers. The gods and the demons churned and churned for a long time, still no ambrosia emerged. Then Lord Ajita Viṣṇu himself set his victorious hands at the churning.[40]

A. 3. 6—8

Agni continued : "The gods took their position on the side of the serpent's tail and began to churn the ocean. Their distress caused by the scorching breath of the serpent was removed by Viṣṇu. While the ocean was being churned, the mountain sank down into water for want of support. Thereupon Viṣṇu assumed the form of the tortoise and held the mountain erect."[41]

SK. 1. 1. 9

While the gods and the demons vigorously churned the ocean, the hard back of the tortoise and the hard part of the mountain resting on it rubbed against each other giving rise to submarine fire.[42]

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40. अहीन्द्रसाहस्रकठोरदृङ्मुखश्वासाग्निधूमाहतवर्चसोऽसुरा. ।
पौलोमकालेयबलील्वलादयो दवाग्निदग्धाः सरला इवाभवन् ॥ 14
देवांश्च तच्छ्वासशिखाहतप्रभान् धूम्राम्बरस्रग्वरकञ्चुकाननान् ।
समभ्यवर्षन् भगवद्वशा घना वधुः समुद्रोर्म्युपगूढवायवः ॥ 15
मथ्यमानात्तथा सिन्धोर्देवासुरवरूथपैः ।
यदा सुधा न जायेत निर्मथ्याजित. स्वयम् ॥ 16 —8-7

41. ततो मथितुमारब्धा यतः पुच्छं ततः सुराः ॥ 6
फणिनिःश्वाससंतप्ता हरिणाप्यायिता. सुरा ।
मथ्यमानेऽर्णवे सोऽद्रिरनाधारो ह्यपोऽविशत् ॥ 7
कूर्मरूपं समास्थाय दध्रे विष्णुश्च मन्दरम् ॥ 8 —A-3

42. तदा सुरासुरा. सर्वे ममन्थुः क्षीरसागरम् ।
एकीभूत्वा बलेनैवमतिमात्रं बलोत्कटाः ॥ 10
पृष्ठकण्ठोरुजान्वन्त· कमठस्य महात्मनः ।
तदासौ पर्वतश्रेष्ठो वज्रसारमयो दृढः ॥
उभयोर्घर्षणादेव वडवाग्निः समुत्थित. ॥ 11 —1.1.9

[Note 10 : Mbh, M (one version), Bhāg, Br and A agree in effect, that it was Viṣṇu who put vigour and strength into the gods and the demons who had been exhausted. According to Vi and P (a), Viṣṇu assumed two forms and joined the gods and the demons in his respective form in the work of churning. According to Br and A, Viṣṇu assumed the form of Kūrma at this stage to support the Mandara which was about to sink. According to P (a), as the ocean was being churned to get Lakṣmī, the great sages fasted and recited Śrīsūkta, the hymn to Śrī. The Sk notes the fact that fire was produced by the friction of the back of the tortoise against the hard bottom of the mountain.]

V

Emergence of Amṛta and its predecessors

Mbh. 1. 17. 33—37

From the ocean being churned by the gods and demons, there emerged the following[43] : (1) The brilliant moon (*Soma*) of pleasing splendour ; (2) Śrī clad in white ; (3) the divine Surā ; (4) The white horse ; these first four products went over to the gods. (5) the divine jewel Kaustubha radiating rays, which was worn by Nārāyaṇa ; (6) Dhanvantari god in human form holding in his hand a white bowl which contained (7) Amṛta.

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43. ततः शतसहस्रांशुः समान इव सागरात् ।
प्रभावतः समुत्पन्नः सोमः शीतांशुरुज्ज्वलः ॥ 33
श्रीरनन्तरमुत्पन्ना धृतात्पाण्डुरवासिनी ।
सुरा देवी समुत्पन्ना तुरगः पाण्डुरस्तथा ॥ 34
कौस्तुभश्च मणिर्दिव्य उत्पन्नोऽमृतसंभवः ।
मरीचिर्विकचः श्रीमान् नारायणउरोगतः ॥ 35
श्रीः सुरा चैव सोमश्च तुरगश्च मनोजवः ।
यतो देवास्ततो जग्मुरादित्यपथमाश्रिताः ॥ 36
धन्वन्तरिस्ततो देवो वपुष्मानुदतिष्ठत ।
श्वेतं कमण्डलुं बिभ्रदमृतं यत्र तिष्ठति ॥ 37

—Mbh. 1,17.

R. 1. 44. 18—24

The following arose from the ocean while it was being churned, in the order given below[44] :

(1) Dhanvantari (2) the lively and glorious damsels (Apsarasaḥ). They were the common belongings of all the gods and the demons. (3) Surā or Vāruṇī, the daughter of Varuṇa. Surā was taken over by the gods (Suraḥ). The demons who were denied this Surā were called Asurāḥ. (4) Uccaiḥśravas, the best of the horses. (5) Kaustubha, the best jewel. (6) Amṛta, the best.

M.

From the ocean, there emerged the following :

(a) 250.2–4

[Note 11 : These stanzas are verbatim the same as *Mbh.* 1.17.33–35 above]

(1) The brilliant Moon, (2) Śrī clad in white, (3) the divine Surā (wine), (4) the white horse, (5) the divine jewel Kaustubha.

(b) 250.5 ab

(6) The Pārijāta tree beautiful with clusters of fullblown flowers.[45]

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44. अथ धन्वन्तरिर्नाम अप्सराश्च सुवर्चसः ।
अप्सु निर्मथनादेव रसात्तस्माद्वरस्त्रियः ।
उत्पेतुर्मनुजश्रेष्ठ तस्मादप्सरसोऽभवन् ॥ 18
...
न ताः स्म प्रतिगृह्णन्ति सर्वे ते देवदानवाः ।
अप्रतिग्रहणाच्चैव तेन साधारणाः स्मृताः ॥ 20
वरुणस्य ततः कन्या वारुणी रघुनन्दन ।
उत्पपात महाभागा मार्गमाणा परिग्रहम् ॥ 21
दितेः पुत्रा न तां राम जगृहुर्वरुणात्मजाम् ।
अदितेस्तु सुता वीर जगृहुस्तामनिन्दिताम् ॥ 22
असुरास्तेन दैतेयाः सुरास्तेनादितेः सुताः ॥...23
उच्चैःश्रवा हयश्रेष्ठो मणिरत्नं च कौस्तुभम् ।
उदतिष्ठन्नरश्रेष्ठ तथैवामृतमुत्तमम् ॥ 24

R. I.44

45. पारिजातस्तु विकचकुसुमस्तबकाञ्चितः । 5 ab

(c) 250.5 cd–61

(7) The virulent poison Kālakūṭa. With the rise of this poison, the air was full of venomous vapours and fumes which made all creatures, gods and demons—almost unconscious.[46] In that sick condition, the gods and demons led by Brahman and Viṣṇu approached Śaṅkara and offered prayers to him with a hymn of praise. They supplicated to him for saving them from the horrors of poison. Śaṅkara complied with their request and went to the ocean where the poison lay raging in all its fury. He drank off the poison which made his throat dark in complexion setting it off as a beautiful adornment of his fair-complexioned

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46. अनन्तरमपश्यंस्ते धूममम्बरसंनिभम् । 5 cd
तमाघ्राय सुराः सर्वे मूर्छिताः परिलंम्बिता. । ···॥ 6
···
केचिद्विलोक्यैव गता ह्यभावं निःसंज्ञतां चाप्यपरे प्रपन्नाः ।
वेमुर्मुखेभ्योऽपि च फेनमग्ये केचित्त्ववाप्ता विषमामवस्थाम् ॥ 17
···
ततो भीताः सुरासुराः । ब्रह्मविष्णू पुरस्कृत्य गतास्ते शंकरान्तिकम् ॥ 24
···
तत्र देवासुरैः सर्वैर्ज्वालुभिर्घर्रंग गतः (?) ।
···
ब्रह्माणमग्रतः कृत्वा इदं स्तोत्रमुदाहृतम् ॥ 27
···
तच्छ्रुत्वा भगवानाह भगनेत्रान्तकृद्भवः ।
भक्षयिष्याम्यहं घोरं कालकूटं महाविषम् ॥ 51-52
···
ततोऽव्रजद् द्रुतगतिना ककुभिना हरोऽम्बरे पवनगतिर्जगत्पतिः । ··· 4
आसाद्य दुष्प्रसिधुं तं कालकूटं विषं यतः ।
ततो देवो महादेवो विलोक्य विषमं विषम् ॥ 55
छायास्थानकमास्थाय सोऽपिबत् वामपाणिना ।
पीयमाने विषे तस्मिंस्ततो देवा महासुराः ॥ 56
···
स्तुवन्तश्चैव देवेशं प्रसन्नाश्चाभवंस्तदा ।
कण्ठदेशे ततः प्राप्ते विषं देवमयाब्रुवन् ॥ 58
शोभते देव कण्ठस्ते गात्रे कुन्दनिभप्रभे ।
भृङ्गमालानिभं कण्ठेऽप्यवैवास्तु विषं तव ॥
इत्युक्त. शंकरोदेवस्तथा प्राह पुरान्तकृत् ॥ .9-60

person. After the threat of Kālakūṭa had thus been removed, the hosts of gods resumed the churning of the ocean.

(d) 251. 1–5 ab

While the ocean was being churned again, there emerged the following :

(8) Dhanvantari, the father of Āyurveda, (9) Madirā, (Intoxicating Drink), (10) Amṛta (ambrosia), (11) Surabhi (the Celestial Cow), (12) The Gajendra (Celestial Elephant) which was taken over by Indra, (13) Chatra (Royal Umbrella) which was taken over by Varuṇa, (14) Kuṇḍale (The two ear ornaments) which were taken over by Śacīpati (Indra). Śrī (Kamalā) and Kaustubha—Nos. 2 and 5 in the list of products—were taken over by Viṣṇu, while the celestial horse No. 4 and Dhanvantari No. 8 were taken by the Sun. Pārijātā No. 6 of the products was taken over by Vāyu.[47]

(e) 251.5 cd–6 ab

[Note 12 : These lines are verbatim the same as in *Mbh* 1. 17. 37]

There emerged Dhanvantari god in human form holding in his hand a white bowl which contained Amṛta.

According to the *Mbh* version which *M* verbatim follows in (a) above and in this (e), Dhanvantari and Amṛta would be emergents serially Nos. 6 and 7.

[Note 13 : The passage from *M* describing the emergent products from the ocean is divided into five parts from (a) to (e)

47. मथ्यमाने पुनस्तस्मिञ्जलधौ समदृश्यत ।
धन्वन्तरिः स भगवानायुर्वेदप्रजापतिः ।। 1
मदिरा चायताक्षी च ···।
ततोऽमृतं च सुरभिः सर्वभूतभयापहा ।। 2
जग्राह कमलां विष्णुः कौस्तुभं च महामणिम् ।
गजेन्द्रं च सहस्राक्षो हयरत्नं च भास्करः ।। 3
धन्वन्तरिं च जग्राह लोकारोग्यप्रवर्तकम् ।
छत्रं जग्राह वरुणः कुण्डले च शचीपतिः ।। 4
पारिजाततरुं वायुर्जग्राह मुदितस्तथा···।। 5

—M. 251

in order to bring out clearly the similarities and dissimilarities which *M* shows in comparison with *Mbh* in respect of the number of products and the order in which they were produced. It appears from a close scrutiny of these parts that parts (a) and (e) of *M* agree verbatim with the *Mbh* and that from the criterion of this agreed version of the *M* and *Mbh* parts (b), (c) and (d) are interpolated between (a) and (e). Passages (b) and (c) add Pārijātā and Kālakūṭa respectively and (c) besides introduces the praise of Śiva. Passage (d) tries to complete the number of products to the later conventional number 14 in a haphazard way. The diaskeuast who interpolated this passage (d) appears to have forgotten that Madirā which he has introduced as product No. 9 is redundant in view of Surā product No. 3 already given in (a)—as a result of which the total number of products would be 13 and not 14.]

Vi. 1. 9. 92—105

While the milk ocean was being churned, the following emerged forth[48]: (i) The Cow named Surabhi, the source which

48. मथ्यमाने ततस्तस्मिन् क्षीराब्धौ देवदानवैः ।
हविर्धामाभवत् पूर्वं सुरभिः सुरपूजिता ।। 92
...
किमेतदिति सिद्धानां दिवि चिन्तयतां ततः ।
बभूव वारुणी देवी मदाघूर्णितलोचना ।। 94
कृतावर्तात् ततस्तस्मात् क्षीरोदाद्वासयञ्जगत् ।
गन्धेन पारिजातोऽभूद्देवस्त्रीनन्दनस्तरुः ।। 95
रूपौदार्यगुणोपेतस्तथा चाप्सरसां गणः ।
क्षीरोदधेः समुत्पन्नो मैत्रेय परमाद्भुतः ।। 96
ततः शीतांशुरभवज्जगृहे तं महेश्वरः ।
जगृहुश्च विषं नागाः क्षीरोदाब्धिसमुत्थितम् ।। 97
ततो धन्वन्तरिर्देवः श्वेताम्बरधरः स्वयम् ।
बिभ्रत्कमण्डलुं पूर्णममृतस्य समुत्थितः ।। 98
...
ततः स्फुरत्कान्तिमती विकासिकमले स्थिता ।
श्रीर्देवी पयसस्तस्मादुद्भूता धृतपङ्कजा ।। 100
...
दिव्यमाल्याम्बरधरा स्नाता भूषणभूषिता ।
पश्यतां सर्वदेवानां ययौ वक्षःस्थलं हरेः ।। 105—109

supplied the offerings of milk products at the sacrifices. (ii) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine, with eyes rolling in intoxication. (iii) The Pārijāta tree. (iv) The host of celestial nymphs. (v) The Moon which was taken over by Śaṅkara. (vi) Poison which was taken over by the serpents. (vii-viii) The god Dhanvantari bearing in his hand a bowl of ambrosia. (ix) The goddess Śrī who betook herself to the chest of Viṣṇu.

P(s) 5.4.44–71

While the ocean was being churned, the following emerged : (1) The cow Surabhi, the source which supplied the offerings of milk-products at the sacrifices. (Havirdhānī), (2) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine, with eyes rolling in intoxication. She was rejected by the gods and accepted by the demons. (3) Parijāta tree. (4) The host of celestial nymphs, accepted in common by the gods and the demons. (5) The moon which was accepted by Śaṅkara to adorn his matted hair. (6) The poison, named Kālakūṭa which was drunk by Śaṅkara to rescue the gods and the demons. (7) Dhanvantari holding in his hand (8) a bowl of ambrosia. (9) The horse. (10) Airāvaṇa Elephant. (11) The goddess Śrī or Lakṣmī. Brahmadeva asked Vāsudeva to accept her, and Lakṣmī went over to Hari.

[Note 14 : This passage from P agrees in contents and wording with the corresponding passage from the Vi with the following differences : (i) The emergents no. 9 and 10 i.e. the horse and Airāvata do not appear in Vi. where the number of emergents is 9 and not 11. (ii) The details regarding the procedure of disposal or assignment of Vāruṇī, Moon, Poison, and Lakṣmī vary in the two versions.]

Br. 4.9 65–82

The following emerged from the ocean which was being churned.[49] (1) The celestial cow Surabhi. (2) The Goddess

49. आविर्बभूव पुरतः सुरभिः सुरपूजिता ।
उत्थिता वारुणी देवी मदाह्लोलविलोचना ।
जगृहुर्नैव तां दैत्या असुराश्चाभवंस्ततः ।

Vāruṇī (Celestial Liquor) or Surā. The demons did not accept her, therefore they were called *Asura*. The gods, on the other hand, accepted her and were called *Sura* (3) The great tree Pārijāta which filled the surroundings with fragrance. (4) The hosts of celestial nymphs (5) The moon which was taken over by Śaṅkara. (6) Poison which was taken over by Nāgas or serpents. (7) The jewel *Kaustubha* which was taken by Viṣṇu. (8) A herb called Vijayā which was taken over by Bhairava. (9) The god Dhanvantari bearing in his hands (10) a bowl of Amṛta or ambrosia. (11) Śrī or Lakṣmī, who went over to Viṣṇu. (12) Tulasī which was borne by Viṣṇu.

Bhag. 8.7.18 to 8.8.36 [64 stanzas]

From the milk-ocean being churned by the gods and the demons, with the helping hand of Lord Viṣṇu, there emerged the

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जगृहुस्ता मुदा देवाः सूचिताः परमेष्ठिना ।
सुराग्रहणतोऽप्येते सुरशब्देन कीर्तिताः ॥
मथ्यमाने ततो भूयः पारिजातो महाद्रुमः ।
आविरासीत्सुगन्धेन परितो वासयञ्जगत् ॥
मत्यर्यसुन्दराकारा धीराश्चाप्सरसां गणाः ।
ततः शीताशुरुदभूत् तं जग्राह महेश्वरः ।
विषजातं ततुत्पन्नं जगृहुर्नागजातयः ॥
कौस्तुभाख्यं ततो रत्नमाददे तज्जनार्दनः ।
ततः स्वपत्रगन्धेन मदयन्ती महौषधीः ।
विजया नाम संजज्ञे भैरवस्तामुपाददे ॥
ततो दिव्याम्बरधरो देवो धन्वन्तरिः स्वयम् ॥
उपस्थितः करे बिभ्रदमृताढ्यं कमण्डलुम् ॥···
ततो विकासिताम्भोजवासिनी वरदायिनी ।
उत्थिता पद्महस्ता श्रीस्तस्मात् क्षीरमहार्णवात् ॥ ···
तुलसी च समुत्पन्ना पराध्यामैक्यजां हरेः ।
पद्ममालां ददौ तस्यै मूर्तिमान् क्षीरसागरः ।····
ययौ वक्षःस्थलं विष्णोः सर्वेषां पश्यता रमा ॥
तुलसी तु धृता तेन विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ॥

—4. 9. 65-82

following:[60] (1) The virulent poison named Hālāhala—to escape from the dreadful poison, the gods and the people sought refuge

50. निर्मथ्यमानादुदधेरभूद्विषं महोल्बणं हालहलाह्वमग्रत. । ... ॥18
भीताः प्रजा दुद्रुवुरङ्ग सेश्वरा शरण्यमाजग्मुरथ शरणं सदाशिवम् ॥19
विलोक्य तं देववरं त्रिलोक्या भवाय देव्याभिमतं मुनीनाम् ।
आसीनभद्रावपवर्गहेतोस्तपो जुषाणं स्तुतिभिः प्रणेमुः ॥21
... ...
तद्वीक्ष्य व्यसनं तासां कृपया भृशपीडित. । ... ॥36
... ...
ततः करतलीकृत्य व्यापि हालाहलं विषम् ।
अभक्षयन्महादेवः कृपया भूतभावनः ॥43
तस्यापि दर्शयामास स्ववीर्यं जलकल्मष. ।
यच्चकार गले नीलं तच्च साधोर्विभूषणम् ॥43

—8-7

पीते गरे वृषाङ्केण प्रीतास्तेऽमरदानवाः ।
ममन्थुस्तरसा सिन्धुं हविर्धानी ततोऽभवत् ॥ 1
तामग्निहोत्रीमृषयो जगृहुर्ब्रह्मवादिनः ।
यज्ञस्य देवयानस्य मेध्याय हविषे नृप ॥ 2
तत उच्चैःश्रवा नाम हयोऽभूच्चन्द्रपाण्डुरः ।
तस्मिन्बलिः स्पृहां चक्रे नेन्द्र ईश्वरशिक्षया ॥ 3
तत ऐरावतो नाम वारणेन्द्रो विनिर्गत ।
दन्तैश्चतुर्भिः श्वेताद्रेर्हरन्भगवतो महीम् ॥ 4
कौस्तुभाख्यमभूद्रत्नं पद्मरागो महोदधेः ।
तस्मिन् हरिः स्पृहां चक्रे वक्षोलंकरणे मणौ ॥ 5
ततोऽभवत्पारिजातः सुरलोकविभूषणम् ।
पूरयत्यर्थिनो योऽर्थैः शश्वद्भुवि यथा भवान् ॥ 6
ततश्चाप्सरसो जाता निष्ककण्ठ्यः सुवाससः ।
रमण्यः स्वर्गिणां वल्गु गतिलीलावलोकनैः ॥ 7
ततश्चाविरभूत्साक्षाच्छ्री रमा भगवत्परा ।
रञ्जयन्ती दिशः कान्त्या विद्युत्सौदामनी यथा ॥ 8
... ...
वव्रे वरं सर्वगुणैरपेक्षितं रमा मुकुन्दं निरपेक्षमीप्सितम् ॥25
... ...
अथासीद् वारुणी देवी कन्या कमललोचना ।
असुरा जगृहुस्तां वै हरेरनुमतेन ते ॥30
अथोदधेर्मथ्यमानात्काश्यपैरमृतार्थिभिः ।
उदतिष्ठन्महाराज पुरुषः परमाद्भुतः ॥31

with Śiva. Pleased by a hymn of praise which was addressed to him, Śiva was moved by compassion. He drank the poison which, however, left its searing blue mark on his throat—(2) Havirdhānī i.e. the cow who provided materials for oblations at the sacrifice. The cow was taken over by the sages. (3) The moon white horse Uccaiḥśravas. Bali, the demon king wanted to have it. (4) The four-tusked elephant Airāvata. (5) The ruby named Kaustubha which was desired by Hari. (6) The Pārijāta tree which fulfilled the wishes of its seekers.

Bhāg. 8.8.

(7) The celestial nymphs-Apsarasaḥ who entertained the gods of heaven with their graceful gait and glances. (8) Śrī or Ramā or Lakṣmī who like lightning illumined the surroundings—she chose Viṣṇu as her permanent abode—(9) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine who was taken over by the demons. (10) Dhanvantari the handsome, resplendent youth who saw the Āyurveda, the science of health. He was a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu. (11) A bowl full of Ambrosia (Amṛta) which Dhanvantari bore in his hands. The demons covetously snatched away the bowl of ambrosia to the consternation of the gods.

A. 3.8–11

(Agni said:) The following emerged out of the ocean.[51] (1) The poison named Hālāhala. It was gulped by Śaṅkara down

... ...
अमृतापूर्णकलशं बिभ्रद् वलयभूषितः ।
स वै भगवतः साक्षाद् विष्णोरंशांशसंभवः ॥34
धन्वन्तरिरिति ख्यातः आयुर्वेद दृगिज्यभाक् ।
तमालोक्यासुराः सर्वे कलशं चामृताभृतम् ॥35
लिप्सन्तः सर्वंवस्तूनि कलशं तरसाहरन् ।
नीयमानेऽसुरैस्तस्मिन् कलशेऽमृतभाजने ॥31
विषण्णमनसो देवा हरिं शरणमाययुः ।
... ...
॥36,

51. क्षीराब्धेर्मथ्यमानाच्च विषं हालाहलं ह्यभूत् ॥ 8
हरेण धारितं कण्ठे नीलकण्ठस्ततोऽभवत् ।
ततोऽभूद्वारुणी देवी पारिजातश्च कौस्तुभः ॥ 9 —8-8.

his throat which, in consequence, became blue. (2) Vāruṇī, the goddess of wine (3) Pārijāta (4) Kaustubha (5) The cows (6) The celestial nymphs (7) The Goddess Lakṣmī who went over to Viṣṇu. (8) Dhanvantari, the incarnation of Viṣṇu who promulgated the Āyurveda, holding in his hand (9) a bowl of Amṛta or ambrosia.

P(*u*) 6. 260. 10—52

[Śaṅkara continues his narration]

While the ocean was being churned, the following emerged[52]: (1) The Poison named Kālakūṭa. Śaṅkara said to Pārvatī :

गावश्चाप्सरसो दिव्या लक्ष्मीर्देवी हरिं गता ।
.... ॥ 10
ततो धन्वन्तरिर्विष्णुरायुर्वेदप्रवर्तकः ।
बिभ्रत्कमण्डलुं पूर्णममृतेन समुत्थितः ॥11

—A 3

52. उदभूत् प्रथमं तत्र कालकूटं महाविषम् ।
··· दृष्ट्वा प्रदुद्रुवुः सर्वे भयार्ता देवदानवाः ॥ 10–11
तान्निवार्याब्रवं वाक्यमहं तत्र शुभेक्षणे ।
भो भो देवगणाः सर्वे न भेतव्यं विषं प्रति ॥12
अहमाहारयिष्यामि कालकूटं महाविषम् ।
.... ॥13
ध्यात्वा नारायणं देवं···नामत्रयं महामन्त्रं जपन् भक्त्या समन्वितः ।
तद्विषं पीतवान् घोरमाद्यं सर्वभयंकरम् ॥···
विषं तदभवज्जीर्णं लोकसंहारकारकम् । 15–17–18
अच्युतानन्द गोविन्द इति नामत्रयं हरेः ।
यो जपेत्···तस्य मृत्युभयं नास्ति ॥ 19–20
ज्येष्ठा देवी समुत्पन्ना रक्तस्रग्वाससावृता ॥
तामब्रुवंस्तथा देवीं सर्वदेवगणा भृशम् ॥ 23–24
(देवा ऊचुः)—येषां गृहान्तरे नित्यं कलहः संप्रवर्तते ।
तत्ते स्थानं प्रयच्छामो वस तत्राशु भान्विता ॥25
ततश्च वारुणी देवी समुत्पन्ना शुभानने ।
अनन्तो नागराजोऽथ तां जग्राह सुलोचनाम् ॥35
ततस्तत्र समुत्पन्ना सर्वाभरणभूषिता ।
वैनतेयस्य भार्याऽभूत्सर्वलक्षणशोभिता ॥36

"When the gods were frightened at the virulent poison, I assured them that I would drink it up. I recited the three names of Viṣṇu and drank up the poison and assimilated it into my digestive." (2) The great evil, inauspicious deity who had put on red garment and garland. She was the darling of Kali. (3) Vāruṇi, the goddess of wine who was taken over by Ananta the king of the Nāgas. (4) A woman adorned with all ornaments ; She was the wife of Vainteya. (5) The hosts of celestial nymphs (6-7-8-9-10) Airāvata, the elephant, Uccaiḥśravas, the horse, Dhanvantari, Pārijāta and Surabhi—all these were taken over by Indra. (11) Mahā Lakṣmī called also Nārāyaṇī who had her abode in the heart of Nārāyaṇa. (12) The coolrayed moon who became the lord of the constellations. (13) Soma or Amṛta (ambrosia). (14) The holy Tulasī who became the wife of Hari.

[Note 15 : The thirteenth product is here called *Soma* which appears to have been equated with Amṛta. For, in verse 68 of this passage, the Tulasī plant is said as emanating from or after Amṛta (ambrosia) the preceding product.[53] *Amṛta* is also called *Soma* in Mahābhārata passage a number of times.[54] The

ततोऽप्सरोगणा दिव्या गन्धर्वाश्च महौजसः ।
जज्ञिरे रूपसंपन्नाः सोमसूर्याग्निवर्चसः ॥37
ऐरावतस्ततो जज्ञे तथैवोच्चैःश्रवा हयः ।
धनवन्तरिः पारिजातः सुरभिः सर्वकामधुक् ॥38
एतान् सर्वान् सहस्राक्षो जग्राह प्रीतमानसः ।
.... 39
उत्पन्ना श्रीर्महालक्ष्मीः सर्वलोकेश्वरी शुभा ।
....दद्युस्ता महादेवीं सर्वलोकहितैषिणीम् ॥—41&46
नारायणीं जगद्धात्रीं नारायणहृदालयाम् ॥
.... 47
अनन्तरं शीतरश्मिरुदभूत्क्षीरसागरे ।
सुधामयूखवान् सोमो मातुर्भ्राता सुखावहः ॥51
नक्षत्राधिपतिश्चाभूच्चन्द्रो वै लोकमातुलः ।
ततो जाया हरेः पुण्या तुलसी लोकपावनी ॥52

53. अमृताद्भवित्ता देवी तुलसी कोमला शुभा ॥6.260.68 —6. 260
54. *Mbh.* 1.30.7, 8, 13, 18, 19.

verse in the above passage of P containing the word *Soma* occurs between verses which refer explicitly to the moon. By this juxtaposition, the author may be ingeniously hinting at the classical meaning of *Soma* i.e. the moon having rays which are as satisfying as Sudhā or Amṛta.]

SK. 1.1.9. 97–113 to 1.1.10. 1–87 to 1.1.11. 1–79 to 1.1.12. 1–3

While the gods and the demons churned the ocean, the following products emerged: (1) The poison Hālāhala. It was drunk by Śiva. While he drunk the poison, he exhorted the gods to give due respect to Geṇeśa. (2) The moon. The gods asked Garga who was expert in astrology about the power of the moon. Garga told them that the moon was powerful and would lead them to success. (3) celestial cow Surabhi along with other cows. All these cows were given to the sages by the gods and the demons. (4-5-6) the celestial trees Pārijāta, Cūta (Mango tree), and Santānaka. (7) The best jewel named Kaustubha (8) The best of the horses Uccaiḥśravas (9) The elephant Airāvata with other elephants (10) Madirā wine (11-12-13-14-15) Plants named Vijayā Bhṛngī, Laśunagṛnjana, Dhattūra, and Puṣkara. (16) Lakṣmī who went over to Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa (17) The youth Dhanvantari the best of physicians who conquered death (18) The bowl of Amṛta or ambrosia which Dhanvantari carried in his hands.[56]

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55. अतिनिर्मथनाज्जातं क्षीराब्धेश्च हलाहलम् ॥ 97
—1-1.9
मथ्यमाने तदाऽब्धौ च निर्गतश्चन्द्र अग्रतः । 26
नमश्चक्रुश्च ते सर्वे ससुरासुरदानवाः ।
तदा गर्गं पृच्छमाना बलं चन्द्रस्य तत्त्वतः ॥ 34
गर्गेणोक्तास्तदा देवाः सर्वेषा बलमद्य वै···।
तस्माच्चन्द्रबलं श्रेष्ठं भवतां कार्यसिद्धये ॥ 35-37
निर्गता सुरभिः साक्षाद्देवानां कार्यसिद्धये ।
···आनीता जलमध्याच्च संवृता गोशतैरपि ॥ 40-43
तैः स्वीकृतास्ता ऋषिभिः सुमङ्गलैः-
महात्मभिः पुण्यतमैः सुरेभ्यः ॥ 48
मथ्यमानात्तदा तस्मादुदधेश्च तथाभवत् ।
कल्पवृक्षः पारिजातः चूतः संतानकस्तथा ॥ 49-50

[Note 16 : At the end of this section, there is attached a tabular statement of entities which are said to have emerged out of the ocean according to respective works. It is hoped that the table will help to show in one glance the number and the comparative position of entities according to each work.

A close look at the table reveals some interesting similarities. The Mbh, R, and M show similarities in the matter of the emergence of entities and their sequence : Entities 1 to 5 in M agree with entities 1 to 5 in Mbh ; 3, 4, 5 of Mbh agree with 3, 4, 5 of R. Again entities 1 to 6 under Vi, P (s) and Br are identical and agree in making Surabhi the first emergent entity ; so also entities 1 to 8 in Vi agree with entities 1 to 8 in P (s). On account of these similarities, Mbh, R and M may be said to fall in one kindred group and Vi, P (s) and Br fall into another. These striking similarities may, perhaps, point to a probability that each group had its own respective common source or tradition from which it took over the account of this legend. The rest of the texts i. e. Bhāg, A, P (U) and SK agree in making Kālakūṭa the poison as the first emergent entity. A reference from the Vāyu-Purāṇa (Vā) (Ānandashrama edition) may be mentioned in this context :

निर्मथ्यमानादुदधेरभवत्सूर्यवर्चसम् ।
रत्नानामुत्तमं रत्नं कौस्तुभाख्यं महाप्रभम् ॥ 51
मथ्यमानात्ततस्तस्मादुच्चैःश्रवाः समद्भुतम् ।
बभूव अश्वो रत्नानां पुनश्चैरावतो गजः ॥ 54
निर्मथ्यमानादुदधेर्निर्गतानि बहून्यथ ॥ 56
मदिरा विजया भृङ्गी तथा लशुनगुञ्जनाः ।
अतीव उन्मादकरो धत्तूरः पुष्करस्तथा ॥ 57
निर्मथ्यमानादुदधेस्तदासीत् सा दिव्यलक्ष्मीर्भुवनैकनाथा··· । 59
··· ··· ···
लक्ष्म्या वृतो महाविष्णुर्लक्ष्मीस्तेनैव संवृता ॥ 75

उदधेर्मथ्यमानाच्च निर्गतः सुमहायशाः ।
धन्वन्तरिरिति ख्यातो युवा मृत्युञ्जयः परः ॥ 2
पाणिभ्यां पूर्णकलशं सुधायाः परिगृह्य वै ।
यावत्सर्वे सुराः सर्वे निरीक्षन्ते मनोहरम् ॥ 3

The *Vā* refers to the story of the churning of the ocean in two different contexts. In one passage[56] (54.49) which is devoted to the panegyric of Śiva, it is said that the first product to emerge out of the ocean was the poison. Śiva drunk the virulent poison as a result of which his throat became blue and he was called Nīlakaṇṭha. There is no reference to other products of the ocean in this passage. In the other passage[57] (92 9-10) which purports to narrate the birth of Dhanvantari it is said that the first of all the products which emerged out of the ocean was Dhanvantari. It may be recalled that the R also mentions Dhanvantari as the first emergent entity.

Ten texts excluding Vā, are chosen for study in this article. The maximum number of times an entity can occur is, therefore, ten. The entities Dhanvantari, Amṛta[58] and Surā occur in all the texts i. e. 10 times-each; Śrī occurs 9 times; Pārijāta, Surabhī and Kālakūṭa occur 8 times each. Soma, Uccaiḥśravas, Kaustabha and Apsarasaḥ each of these occurs 7 times, and Airāvata occurs five times. These twelve entities appear to be more important; The rest of the entities in the table seem unimportant, their mention being made according to the predilection of that (respective) particular text

It would be interesting to see how these entities are disposed of by the respective texts: (1) Soma was taken over by the gods (Mbh), by Śaṅkara (Vi, P (s) and Br.) (2) Śrī went over to the gods

56. मथ्यमानेऽमृते पूर्वं क्षीरोदे सुरदानवैः ।
अग्रे समुत्थितं तस्मिन्विषं कालानलप्रभम् ॥93
धृतं कण्ठे विषं घोरं नीलकण्ठस्ततो ह्यहम् ॥94

—Va-54

57. धन्वन्तरेः संभवोऽयं श्रूयतामिह वै द्विजाः ।
स संभूतः समुद्रान्ते मथ्यमानेऽमृते पुरा ॥ 9
उत्पन्नः सकलात्पूर्वं सर्वतश्च श्रियावृतः ।
.... ॥ 100

—Va-92

58. This statement is based on the interpretation of Soma as Amṛta, the 13th entity emerging out of the ocean according to P (u), see above [Note] under P (u).

(Mbh) to Viṣṇu (all the rest of the texts). (3) Surā was taken over by gods (Mbh, R, Br)[59] by Ananta, the Nāga King (P(u)) and by demons (P(s)). (4) The horse Uccaiḥśravas was taken by gods (Mbh), by Sun (M). (5) Kaustubha was taken over by Nārayaṇa (Mbh, M, Br, Bhāg), (6) Dhanvantari was a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu (Bhāg) ; he was taken over by Indra (P (u)). (7) Surabhi was taken over by India (P(u)). (8) Poison (Viṣa) was taken over by the Nāgas (Vi, Br, P(u)), by Śiva (M, Bhāg, P (s), A, SK). (9) Airāvata was taken over by Indra (P(u), M). (10) Pārijāta was taken over by Indra (P(u), M), by Vâyu (M). (11) Apsarasaḥ were taken over in common by the gods and the demons. (12) Amṛta was given to gods.]

ENTITIES WHICH EMERGED OUT OF THE OCEAN :

Their number and sequence as found in the Epics and the Purāṇas

Entities	Mbh	R	M	Vi	P(s)	Br	Bhag	A	P(u)	Sk
1 Soma	1		1	5	5	5			12	2
2 Śrī	2		2	9	11	11	8	7	11	16
3 Surā or Madirā	3	3	3 & 9	2	2	2	9	2	3	10
4 Uccaiḥśravas	4	4	4		9		3		7	8
5 Kaustubha	5	5	5			7	5	4		7
6 Dhanvantari	6	1	8	7	7	9	10	8	8	17
7 Amrta	7	6	10	8	8	10	11	9	13	18
8 Apsarasaḥ		2		4	4	4	7	6	5	
9 Pārijāta			6	3	3	3	6	3	9	4
10 Kālakūṭa			7	6	6	6	1	1	1	1

59. Only R and Br play on the words Sura and Asura : those who accepted Surā were called Sura and those who rejected Surā were called Asura.

11 Surabhi	11	1	1	1	2	5	10	3
12 Airāvata	12		10		4		6	9
13 Chatra	13							
14 Kuṇḍale	14							
15 Vijayā				8				11
16 Tulasī				12			14	
17 Kalipriyā							2	
18 Vainateya-bhāryā							4	
19 Cūta								5
20 Santānaka								6
21 Bhṛṅgī								12
22 Laśuna								13
23 Dhattūra								14
24 Puṣkara								15

N. B.—The figure opposite the entity in the column under each work indicates the place of that entity in the sequence in which the entities arose according to that particular work, e. g., the figure 10 opposite serial No. 7 Amṛta in the column under M indicates that the place of Amṛta is the 10 in the sequence of entities which are described to have arisen out of the ocean in M.

VI

Viṣṇu's or Nārāyaṇa's intervention in the fight for Amṛta ; to the advantage of the gods

Mbh. 1.16.38–40 ; 17.1–30

After the emergence of Amṛta there was a great scramble for its possession among the gods and the demons.[59] The demons

60. एतदत्यद्भुतं दृष्ट्वा दानवानां समुत्थितः ।
अमृतार्थे महाक्षोदो ममेदमिति जल्पताम् ॥38

shouted loudly each saying 'it is mine;' and seized the bowl of Amṛta. Nārāyaṇa quelled this pandemonium which raged over the Amṛta by employing his miraculous power. He assumed the form of a wonderfully charming woman and approached the demons. The demons fascinated by her beauty handed over the bowl of Amṛta to that woman. Nārāyaṇa thus got hold of the Amṛta. In the confusion that ensued, the gods managed to get the Amṛta from Nārāyaṇa, while the gods were drinking the Amṛta, the demon[61] Rāhu intruded into the company of gods and drank the Amṛta. While the mouthful had reached his throat,[62] the fact of this demon-infiltrator was divulged to the

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ततो नारायणो मायामास्थितो मोहिनीं प्रभुः ।
स्त्रीरूपमद्भुतं कृत्वा दानवानभिसंश्रितः ॥39
ततस्तदमृतं तस्यै ददुस्ते मूढचेतसः ।
स्त्रियै दानवदैतेयाः सर्वे तद्गतमानसाः ॥40

—Mbh 1-16

61. ततस्तदमृत देवो विष्णुरादाय वीर्यवान् ।
जहार दानवेन्द्रेभ्यो नरेण सहितः प्रभुः ॥ 2
ततो देवगणाः सर्वे पपुस्तदमृतं तदा ।
विष्णोः सकाशात्संप्राप्य संभ्रमे तुमुले सति ॥ 3
ततः पिबत्सु तत्कालं देवेष्वमृतमीप्सितम् ।
राहुर्विबुधरूपेण दानवः प्रापिबत्तदा ॥ 4

—Mbh 1.17

62. तस्य कण्ठमनुप्राप्ते दानवस्यामृते तदा ।
आख्यातं चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां सुराणां हितकाम्यया ॥ 5
ततो भगवता तस्य शिरश्चिच्छेदमलंकृतम् ।
चक्रायुधेन चक्रेण पिबतोऽमृतमोजसा ॥ 6
... ...
ततो वैरविनिर्बन्धः कृतो राहुमुखेन वै ।
शाश्वतश्चन्द्रसूर्याभ्यां ग्रसत्यद्यापि चैव तौ ॥ 8
... ...
ततः प्रवृत्त. संग्रामः समीपे लवणाम्भसः ।
सुराणामसुराणा च सर्वघोरतरो महान् ॥ 10
... ...
एवं सुतुमुले युद्धे वर्तमाने भयावहे ।
नरनारायणौ देवो समाजग्मतुराहवम् ॥ 18

gods by the sun and the moon. Immediately Viṣṇu cut off the head of Rāhu. The head of Rāhu on that account bears an eternal enmity towards the sun and the moon and still swallows both of them during the time of the eclipses.

Deprived of the Amṛta, the demons waged a fierce battle with the gods. While the terrific battle raged, the gods Nara and Nārāyaṇa joined the conflict. Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu wrought havoc among the ranks of the demons. His discus like a ghoulish friend drank the blood of demons. Nara with his bow showered volleys of arrows on the demons and put them to rout. The demons ran for refuge into the earth underground and into the sea The gods thus attained final victory. The Mandara mountain was restored to its farmer place with great honour. The bowl of Amṛta was kept by the gods for protection under the custody of Kirīṭin.

R. I.44.25-27

For the sake of Amṛta, grim fight raged between the gods and the demons, leading to the destruction of whole families.

तत्र दिव्यं धनुर्दृष्ट्वा नरस्य भगवानपि ।
चिन्तयामास वै चक्रं विष्णुर्दानवसूदनम् ॥ 19
... ...

दहत्कचिज्ज्वलन इवावलेलिहत् प्रसह्य तानसुरगणान् न्यकृन्तत ।
प्रवेरितं वियति मुहुः क्षितौ तदा पपौ रणे रुधिरमथो पिशाचवत् ॥ 23
... ...

नरस्ततो वरकनकाग्रभूषणैर्महेषुभिर्गगनपथं समावृणोत् ;
विदारयन् गिरिशिखराणि पत्रिभिर्महाभयेऽसुरगणविग्रहे तदा ॥ 27
ततो मही लवणजलं च सागरं महासुराः प्रविविशुरर्दिताः सुरैः । 28
... ...

ततः सुरैर्विजयमवाप्य मन्दरः स्वमेव देशं गमितः सुपूजितः । 29
... .

ततोऽमृतं सुनिहितमेव चक्रिरे सुराः परा मुदमभिगम्य पुष्कलाम् ।
ददौ च तं निधिममृतस्य रक्षितुं किरीटिने बलभिदथामरैः सह ॥ 30
—Mbh. 1.17

The sons of Diti were killed and Indra got the kingdom of the gods.[63]

M 251.6 ed 36

These verses about 30 in number agree almost verbatim with Mbh 1.16.38–40 and 17.1–30 referred to above under this section. The account of the part played by Nārāyaṇa and Nara in the fight between the gods and the demons as narrated above under Mbh, completely agrees with and is identical with, that in M.

Vi. 1. 9. 105 – 116 ff.

Distressed at the fact that Lakṣmī had deserted them and had gone over to Viṣṇu, the demons snatched away the bowl of ambrosia from the hands of Dhanvantari. But Viṣṇu assuming the form of a nymph intervened, infatuated the demons, took away from them the ambrosia and distributed it among the gods. Gods, thus strengthened, defeated the demons and Indra became the sovereign of the heaven. Indra praised to Lakṣmī who granted him the favour that she would never leave the gods[64]

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63. अत्र तस्य कृते राम महानासीत्कुलक्षयः ।
अदितेस्तु ततः पुत्रा दितेः पुत्रानसूदयन् ॥ 25
... ...
निहत्य पुत्रास्तु राज्यं प्राप्य पुरंदरः ।
शशास मुदितो लोकान्सर्षिसंघान् सचारणान् ॥ 27 —R. 1. 44

64 उद्वेगं परमं जग्मुर्दैत्या विष्णुपराङ्मुखाः ।
त्यक्ता लक्ष्म्या महाभाग विप्रचित्तिपुरोगमाः ॥ 107
ततस्ते जगृहुर्दैत्या धन्वन्तरिकरस्थितम् ।
कमण्डलुं महावीर्या यत्रास्तेऽमृतमुत्तमम् ॥ 108
मायया मोहयित्वा तान् विष्णुः स्त्रीरूपसंस्थितः ।
दानवेभ्यस्तदादाय देवेभ्यः प्रददौ प्रभुः ॥ 109
ततः पपुः सुरगणाः शक्राद्यास्तत्तदामृतम् ।
उग्रतापुग्रनिस्त्रिंशा दैत्यास्ताश्च समभ्ययुः ॥ 110
पीतेऽमृते च बलिभिर्देवैर्दैत्यचमूस्तदा ।
वध्यमाना दिशो भेजे पातालं च विवेश वै ॥ 111
... ...
सिंहासनगतः शक्रः संप्राप्य त्रिदिवं पुनः ।
देवराज्ये स्थितो देवीं तुष्टावाब्जकरां ततः ॥ 116
... ...

श्रीरुवाच —वरोऽयं त्रिदशश्रेष्ठ न संत्यक्ष्यामि वासव ।
दत्तो वरो मयायं ते स्तोत्रारावनतुष्टया ॥ 138 —1.9

P(s) 5. 4. 72–88

The demons snatched away the bowl of ambrosia. Viṣṇu assumed the form of a nymph and intervened, to the benefit of the gods. The gods, strengthened by ambrosia, defeated the demons.

[Note 17 : Up to this point in the account, i. e. from 72 to 82 the versions in the P and Vi agree in contents and considerably in also wording.]

Brahmadeva then asks the gods to worship both Viṣṇu and Śaṅkara.—The narrator, Pulastya, then rounds off by saying : "Thus Lakṣmī was born from the milk-ocean.

P(u). 6. 260. 53–71

The churning of the ocean was concluded. The gods praised Lakṣmī with a hymn composed in her honour and requested her never to forsake the three worlds. The gods praised also Viṣṇu and requested him to espouse Lakṣmī. They also worshipped the feet of Lakṣmī with an offering of Tulasī.[65]

Br. 4. 10. 1–25

The demon snatched the bowl of ambrosia from the hands of Dhanvantari, which led to their quarrel and strife with the gods. At that moment, Viṣṇu propitiated the goddess Lalitā who was not really separate from him. The goddess appeared on the scene with all her charms and asked the demons to give her the bowl of ambrosia for distribution among them and the gods. The demons accepted her offer. She then began to distribute it among

65. स्तुत्वा नामसहस्रेण जेपुः श्रीसूक्तसंहिताः ।
....॥55
प्रसीद कमले देवि सर्वलोकेश्वरप्रिये ।
...त्रैलोक्यं न त्वया देवि त्याज्यं हि परमो वरः ॥ 58-59
... ...
ततः प्रतुष्टुवुर्देवा नमस्कृत्वा जनार्दनम् ।
...गृहाण देवीं सर्वेश महिषीं तव वल्लभाम् ॥ 63-64
...अमृतादुत्थिता देवी तुलसी कोमला शुभा ॥
...तया श्रीपादयुगलमर्चयायासुरञ्जसा । 68-69

the gods. Rāhu who had infiltrated into the ranks of the gods was detected by the sun and the moon and was beheaded by the goddess by means of the ladle with which she was distributing the ambrosia. She finished the contents of the bowl among the gods and after placing the empty bowl before the demons, disappeared. The demons fought with the gods but they were vanquished by the superior power of the gods.[66]

Bhāg. 8. 8. 37 to 8. 11. 48 [9 + 29 + 57 + 48 = 143] stanzas

Pandemonium prevailed among the demons themselves for the grabbing of ambrosia.[67] The gods approached Viṣṇu for

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66. ततो जगृहिरे दैत्या धन्वंतरिकरस्थितम् ।
परमामृतसाराढ्यं कलशं कनकोद्भवम् ॥
अथासुराणां देवानामन्योन्यं कलहोऽभवत् ।
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे विष्णुः सर्वलोकैकरक्षकः ॥
सम्यगाराधयामास ललितां स्वैक्यरूपिणीम् ।
सर्वसंमोहिनी सा तु साक्षाच्छृङ्गारनायिका ॥
मन्दस्मितेन दैतेयान्मोहयन्ती जगाद ह ।
सर्वेषां सममेवाद्य दास्याम्यमृतमद्भुतम् ॥
मम हस्ते प्रदातव्यं सुधापात्रमनुत्तमम् ।
इति तस्या वचः श्रुत्वा दैत्यास्तद्वाक्यमोहिताः ।
पीयूषकलशं तस्यै ददुस्ते मुग्धचेतसः ॥
सा तत्पात्रं समादाय जगन्मोहनरूपिणी ॥
सुरागामसुराणा च पृथक्पंक्ति चकार ह ।
सुधां तां देवतापंक्तौ पूर्वं दत्त्वा तदादिशत् ॥
दिशन्ती क्रमशस्तत्र चन्द्रभास्करसूचितम् ।
दर्वीकरेण चिच्छेद सैंहिकेयं तु मध्यगम् ॥
एवं क्रमेण तत्सर्वं विबुधेभ्यो वितीर्य सा ।
असुराणां पुरः पात्रं सा निनाय तिरोदधे ॥

—4.10.1-25.

67. मिथः कलिरभूत्तेषां तदर्थे तर्षचेतसाम् ।
अहं पूर्वमहं पूर्वं न त्वं न त्वमिति प्रभो ॥
एतस्मिन्नन्तरे विष्णुः सर्वोपायविदीश्वरः ।
योपिद्रूपमनिर्देश्यं दधार परमाद्भुतम् ॥ 38

—8.8.

succour. Viṣṇu assumed the form of a charming woman and appeared on the scene. The demons fascinated by the ravishing beauty of the woman gave the bowl of ambrosia to her and asked her to distribute the ambrosia among all. The demons agreed to the stipulation proposed by the woman that the quantum of

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का त्वं कञ्जपलाशाक्षि कुतो वा किं चिकीर्षसि ।
कस्यासि वद वामोरु मथ्नन्तीव मनांसि नः ॥ 3
नूनं त्वं स्पर्धमानानामेकवस्तुनि मानिनि ।
···विभजस्व यथान्यायं नैव भेदो यथा भवेत् ॥ 6-7
ततो गृहीत्वामृतभाजनं हरिर्बभाष ईषत्स्मितशोभया गिरा ।
यद्यभ्युपेत ऋ च साध्वसाधुवा कृतं मया वो विभजे सुधामिमाम् ॥ 12
इत्यभिव्याहृतं तस्या आकर्ण्यासुरपुङ्गवाः ।
अप्रमाणविदस्तस्यास्तत्तथेत्यन्वमंसत ॥ 13
···असुराणां सुधादानं सर्पाणामिव दुर्नयम् ।
मत्वा जातिनृशंसाना न तां व्यभजदच्युतः ॥ 19
कल्पयित्वा पृथक्पङ्क्तीरुभयेषां जगत्पतिः ।
···दैत्यान् गृहीतकलशो वञ्चयन्नुपसंचरैः ॥ 20-21
देवलिङ्गप्रतिच्छन्नः स्वर्भानुर्देवसंसदि ।
प्रविष्टः सोममपिबच्चन्द्रार्काभ्यां च सूचितः ॥ 24
चक्रेण क्षुरधारेण जहार पिबतः शिरः ।
हरिस्तस्य कबन्धस्तु सुधया पावितोऽपतत् ॥ 25
शिरस्त्वमरतां नीतमजो ग्रहमचीकल्पत् ।
यस्तु पर्वणि चन्द्रार्कौ अभिधावति वैरधीः ॥ 26

—8, 9.

इति दानवदैतेया नाविन्दन्नमृतं नृप ।
···अमृष्यमाणा उत्पेतुर्देवान्प्रत्युद्यतायुधाः ॥ 1-3
··· ··· ····

तत्र दैवासुरो नाम रणः परमदारुणः ।
रोधस्युदन्वतो राजंस्तुमुलो रोमहर्षणः ॥ 5
···· ···· ····

एवं दैत्यैर्महामायैरलक्ष्यगतिभीषणैः ।
सृज्यमानासु मायासु विषेदुः सुरसैनिकाः ॥ 52
न तत्प्रतिविधिं यत्र विदुरिन्द्रादयो नृप ।
ध्यातः प्रादुरभूत्तत्र भगवान्विश्वभावनः ॥ 53

—8, 10

her distribution should not be questioned. The gods and the demons were made to sit in two separate rows. The woman i. e. Viṣṇu, thinking that the demons being like serpents, granting of ambrosia to them would be dangerous, managed to distribute the ambrosia only among the gods. Rāhu, who infiltrated among the ranks of gods, was beheaded by Viṣṇu who got this information from the moon and the sun. The head of Rāhu which was immortal because of the touch of Ambrosia, bore eternal enmity with the sun and the moon and eclipsed them on the *parvan* days (the last days of the fortnights). The demons seeing that they were defrauded of ambrosia and that gods were its beneficiaries got wild and attacked the gods. A fierce battle raged between the hosts of gods and demons. The demons employed miraculous powers (māyā) and proved superior to the gods. The gods who first quailed before them, were helped and strengthened by Viṣṇu, ultimately the gods were victorious and the vanquished demon king Bali took shelter in the western mountain.

A. 3. 12-16

The demon[68] snatched the bowl of Amṛta from the hands of Dhanvantari and giving half of its contents to the gods ; set

अथो सुराः प्रत्युपलब्धचेतसः परस्य पुंसः परयानुकम्पया ।
जघ्नुर्भृशं शक्रसमीरणादयस्तास्तान् रणे यैरभिसंहृताः पुरा ॥ 1
... ...
अन्येऽप्येवं प्रतिद्वन्द्वान् वाय्वग्निवरुणादयः ।
सूदयामासुरस्त्रीभिर्मृगान्केसरिणो यथा ॥ 42
... ...
येऽवशिष्टा रणे तस्मिन् नारदानुमतेन ते ।
बलिं विपन्नमादाय अस्तं गिरिमुपागमन् ॥ 46 —8. 11.

68. अमृतं तत्करादृदैत्या सुरेभ्योऽर्धं प्रदाय च ।
गृहीत्वा जग्मुर्जम्भाद्याः विष्णुः स्त्रीरूपधृक् ततः ॥ 12
ता दृष्ट्वा रूपसंपन्नां दैत्या. प्रोचुर्विमोहिताः ।
भव भार्याऽमृतं गृह्य पाययास्मान् वरानने ॥ 13
तथेत्युक्त्वा हरिस्तेभ्यो गृहीत्वापाययत् सुरान् ।
चन्द्ररूपधरो राहुः पिबंश्चाकेन्दुनार्पितः ॥ 14
हरिणाप्यरिणा च्छिन्नं तदा राहोः शिरः पृथक् ।
कृपयामरतां नीतं वरदं हरिमब्रवीत् ॥ 15
राहुर्मत्तस्तु चन्द्रार्कौ प्राप्य ते ग्रहणं ग्रहः ।
तस्मिन् काले च यद्दानं दास्यन्ते स्यात्तदक्षयम् ॥ 16

—A. 3.

out to depart, when Viṣṇu appeared in the form of a woman. The demos, enticed by her charms, delivered the Amṛta into her hands. Viṣṇu managed to give it to the gods. Rāhu who infiltrated into the ranks of the gods was detected and was beheaded by Viṣṇu. The head of Rāhu, which had become immortal by drinking Amṛta, continues to eclipse the sun and the moon.

SK. 1. 1. 12. 4--74 to 1. 1. 13.23

The demons snatched the bowl of ambrosia from the hands of Dhanvantari and went to Pātāla, the nether world. They would not share it with the gods. The gods, therefore, approached Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu for help in this predicament Viṣṇu assured them that he would secure the ambrosia for them. He then assumed the from of an enticing woman (Mohinī) and appeared before the demons The demons gave the bowl of ambrosia to Mohinī and agreed to be guided by her in the matter of its distribution. While the demons sat in a row ready to receive each one's share the gods arrived on the scene. Mohinī said to the demons: "These guests have arrived. It is our duty to serve the guests first". The demons agreed. Mohinī, then, distributed the ambrosia among the gods pouring it lavishly to each of them. Rāhu and Ketu, the demons, infiltrated into the ranks of the gods. Rāhu, who was detected while drinking the ambrosia was beheaded by Viṣṇu. His head flew into the sky, while the trunk of his body fell on the earth. Ketu flew into the sky, gave his share of ambrosia to the moon and disappeared. Mohinī disappeared after distributing the ambrosia. The demons, angry at being deprived of the ambrosia, attacked the gods. But they were defeated by the gods.[69]

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69. कलशं सुधया पूर्णं गृहीत्वा ते समुत्सुका ।
दैत्या पातालमाजग्मुस्तदा देवा भ्रमान्विता ।। 7
अनुजग्मु: सुसंनद्धा योद्धुकामाश्च तै सह ।
तदा देवान्समालोक्य बलिरेवमभाषत ।। 8
शीघ्रमेव प्रगन्तव्यं भवद्भिश्च सुरोत्तमै. ।।
एवं निर्भर्त्सितास्तेन बलिना सुरसत्तमा ।।

[Note 18 : Mbh, M, Bhāg, A, P(s), Br, and SK agree in saying that Viṣṇu assumed the form of a charming woman and distributed

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यथागतेन मार्गेण जग्मुर्नारायणं प्रभुम् ॥
आश्वासिता वचोभिश्च नानानुनयकोविदैः ।
मा त्रासं कुरुतात्रार्थं आनयिष्यामि तां सुधाम् ॥
एवमाभाष्य भगवान्मुकुन्दोऽनायसंश्रयः ॥
मोहिनीरूपमास्थाय दैत्यानामग्रतोऽभवत् ॥
(दैत्याः) दृष्ट्वा योषां तदा दैवात्सर्वभूतमनोरमाम् ।
विस्मयेन समाविष्टा बभूवुस्तृषितेक्षणाः ॥
तां संमान्य तदा दैत्यराजो बलिरुवाच ह ।
अद्यामृतं च सर्वेषां विभजस्व यथातथम् ॥
त्वया दत्तं च गृह्णीमः सत्यं सत्यं वदामि ते ॥
एवमुक्ता तदा देवी मोहिनी सर्वमङ्गला ।
करस्थेन तदा देवी कलशेन विराजिता ।
शुशुभे परया कान्त्या जगन्मङ्गलमङ्गला ॥
परिवेषकराः सर्वे सुरास्ते ह्यसुरान्तिकम् ।
आगतास्तत्क्षणादेव यत्र ते ह्यसुरोत्तमाः ॥
तान् दृष्ट्वा मोहिनी सद्य उवाच प्रमदोत्तमा ।
एते ह्यतिथयो ज्ञेया धर्मसर्वस्वसाधनाः ॥
आदौ ह्यभ्यागताः पूज्या इति वै वैदिकी श्रुतिः ।
बलिनोक्ता तदा देवी यत्ते मनसि रोचते ।
एवं संमानिता तेन बलिना भावितात्मना ।
परिवेषणकार्यार्थं कलशं गृह्य सत्वरा ॥
तदा तु देवी परिवेषयन्ती सा मोहिनी देवगणाय साक्षात् ।
ववर्ष देवेषु सुधारसं पुनः पुनः सुधाहाररसामृतं यथा ॥
सर्वे दैत्या आसनस्थास्तदानीं चिन्तान्विताः क्षुधया पीडिताश्च ॥
तदा राहुश्च केतुश्च द्वावेतौ दैत्यपुंगवौ ।
उपविष्टौ तदा पङ्क्त्यां देवानाममृतार्थिनौ ॥
यदामृतं पातुकामौ राहुः परमदुर्जयः ।
तदा तस्य शिरश्छिन्नं राहोर्दुर्विग्रहस्य च ॥
केतुश्च धूमरूपोऽसावाकाशे विलयं गतः ।
सुधां समर्प्य चन्द्राय तिरोधानगतोऽभवत् ॥

—1. 1. 12. 9–70 (selected)

तेषां घोरमभूद्युद्धं देवानां दानवैः सह ।
एवं भग्नं दानवानां च सैन्यं दृष्ट्वा देवा गर्जमानाः समन्तात् ।
हृष्टाः सर्वे संमिलित्वा तदानीं लब्ध्वा युद्धे ते जयं श्लाघयन्ते ॥

—1. 1. 13. 18–23 (selected)

the ambrosia among the gods, beheading Rāhu who had infiltrated among the ranks of the god's; according to Bi, the charming woman is the goddess Lalitā whom Viṣṇu propitiates, praying to her to intervene in the fight between gods and demons to snatch the bowl of ambrosia. Bi adds that Lalitā was not separate from Viṣṇu. Nara joins Nārāyaṇa in defeating the demons, according to Mbh and M Vi does not refer to the Rāhu episode, though it refers to other details such as Viṣṇu assuming the form of a charming woman. P (u) does not refer to the pandemonium to which other works have alluded as raging for the sake of ambrosia. It only says that at the conclusion of the churning of the ocean, the gods praised Lakṣmī with a hymn and requested her never to forsake them.]

General Remarks

We have given above the analysis of the legend of the churning of the ocean in its successive stages, as it has been developed in the Epics and the Purāṇas. During analysis, we have also briefly indicated in the Notes (which have been inserted at the several stages in the development of the story) striking points of similarity and difference noticed in the accounts in each work. Now it is proposed to offer a few general remarks summing up the general impressions and indicating the general trends, if any, noticeable in the different presentations of the legend in the Epics and Purāṇic works :

(i) All texts more or less appear to agree on the motive behind the churning of the ocean. The churning of the ocean seems to have been undertaken for getting the Drink of Immortality or for recovery of lost vigour, strength and glory (Lakṣmī).

(ii) The number of entities produced from the ocean and their sequence varies from work to work. Mbh. records 7 entities and R. records 6. It is not possible to state definitely what may
d) have been the earliest number and sequence of these entities. But it is probable that the Mbh provides the earliest pattern of the legend and of the number and sequence of the entities. 'Poison' is absent in the Mbh and R. It may be a reasonable
d)

conjecture to say that the earliest list of 7 entities in the Mbh grew in course of time in the period of the Purāṇas to 12 with the addition of 5 entities viz Kālakūṭa, Apsarasaḥ, Pārijāta, Surabhi and Airāvata. These twelve entities are of frequent occurrence in the Purāṇas and may be said to be the standard or the pattern of the number of the entities.

That these latter 5 get added later on to the early 7 gets corroboration from the manuscriptological evidence discovered in the critical editions of the Epics. In the critical edition of the Mbh, the authoritatively constituted text (1. 17. 33–37) records only 7 entities But in the critical apparatus below (pp. 123–124 of Mbh. 1) there are recorded spurious passages from some Mss. which make up the number 12 by adding 5 more entities mentioned above to the 7 of the authoritative text. So also, in the critical edition of R, the authoritatively constituted text records 6 entities. But in the critical apparatus which gives spurious passage from some Mss. (on page 257 of R 1 44) and also in the Appendix I No. 8, the number is increased to 9 by adding poison, Soma, and Lakṣmī. About the spurious passage which adds 'poison' to the list, one of the commentators of R frankly says that the passage has been interpolated here from some Purāṇa and does not form a genuine part of the R.[70]

Thus it appears that the number 12 of the entities may have been reached during the course of the development of Purāṇa literature. Unfortunately, the critical editions of Purāṇas referred to in this article have not been yet prepared and published. It is not, therefore, possible to ascertain how the number of entities grew gradually to 12 in the Purāṇa literature itself.

(iii) As has been remarked above in the note at end of section V, there appear to be two patterns for the emergence of entities and their sequence : one pattern common to Mbh, R and

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70. अत्र ममन्थुरमृतौजस इत्यनन्तरं हालाहलोत्पत्त्यादिप्रतिपादकं पुराणान्तरस्थमत्र प्रक्षिप्यान्यस्तद् व्याचकार । नास्माभिः प्राचीनशुद्धपुस्तकेषु ते श्लोकाः दृश्यन्ते ।
-C K (Comentary of Kataka)
p. 255. R. 1.44.17.

M and the another pattern common to Vi, P(s), and Br. Unlike the Mbh and R, there are no critical editions available of M., Vi, P(s) and Br, and hence it can not be ascertained which passages in these Purāṇic texts are genuine or interpolated. But from the similarity of patterns discoverable in the tabular statement, it may be conjectured that in the matter of the emergence of entities and their sequence, M in some of its earlier parts may be indebted to the Mbh, while P(s) and Br may be indebted to Vi.

(iv) It will be found from the tabular statement given above that the Purāṇas M, Br, P(u), and SK increase between them the number of entities to 24 by adding 12 more entities to the standard 12 of frequent occurrence. Of these additional 12 entities two are Chatra (umbrella) and Kuṇḍale (ear-pendants), insignia of nobility or royalty or royal splendour; eight are plants and trees dear to some divinities and hence considered sacred; while two i. e. Kalipriyā and Vainateya-bhāryā appear to be popular mother goddess. It appears that the additions were made by the respective Purāṇas according to their predilection for Viṣṇu, Śiva or some mother goddess.

(v) The first R entities according to the table are of frequent occurrence and may be said to constitute the standard or normal number of entities which emerged out of the ocean. There is one Sanskrit Stanza[71] which appears to have been popular, as it has been included by popular tradition among the benedictory verses sung on the occasion of marriage ceremony to invoke benediction on the couple to be married. The source of the stanza is not known. In that stanza, the fourteen 'jewels' which emerged out of the ocean are invoked to bestow benediction on the bride and the bridegroom. These fourteen 'jewels' include the first twelve entities referred to above as the standard or normal number occurring frequently in the Purāṇas. The remaining two out of the fourteen 'jewels' are the bow of Hari (the Śārnga bow) and

71. लक्ष्मीः कौस्तुभपारिजातकसुरा धन्वन्तरिश्चन्द्रमाः
गावः कामदुघा सुरेश्वरगजो रम्भादिदेवाङ्गना. ।
अश्वः सप्तमुखो विषं हरिधनुः शङ्खोऽमृतं चाम्बुधेः
रत्नानीह चतुर्दश प्रतिदिनं कुर्वन्तु वो मङ्गलम् ॥

Śaṅkha (conch). It is remarkable that none of these two occurs among the entities in the Epic and Purāṇic works studied in this article.

(vi) The legend of the churning of the ocean shows in its different versions the impact of different religious sects and systems. It is mainly dominated by the Vaiṣṇavite element. It is Viṣṇu who becomes the beneficiary of the two entities—Śrī and Kaustubha. It is Viṣṇu again who rescues the gods out of their difficulties and makes them the sole beneficiaries of ambrosia. This sway of the Vaiṣṇavite element is complete until the stage in the development of the legend is reached when the entity of 'Poison' appears on the scene.

With the emergence of 'Poison' Kālakūṭa, the Śaivite element enters into the legend and claims a place of honour along with the Vaiṣṇavite. It is Śiva who saves the gods from disaster by himself drinking the poison. Even under this development of the legend viz. the introduction of 'poison' as an entity into the story, there appears a stage or a phase when the Śaivite element has not yet entered into the legend. For instance, the Vi, Br and P(u) state that it was the Nāgas which took over the poison. But in the rest of the texts which refer to the emergence of poison, it is Śiva who gains a place of honour. But it is worth noting that in these passages, the Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite elements do not come into conflict. Śiva and Viṣṇu appear to work in harmony, one bowing to the other and vice versa. In M Viṣṇu requests Śiva. In Bhāg the gods request Śiva to save them from the ill effects of poison. In P(u), Śiva has respect for Viṣṇu and recites the latter's names before drinking poison. In SK, Śiva insists that Gaṇeśa should be respected by the gods. In P(s) Brahmadeva asks the gods to worship both Viṣṇu and Śiva.

Some Purāṇic texts evince the impact of the worship of Devī or Mother Goddess. In Vi and P(u) at the conclusion of the churning of the ocean, gods pray to Lakṣmī for her eternal grace and beseech her never to desert them. In the Br, it is said that the Goddess Lalitā, who was in reality not separate from

Viṣṇu, was propitiated by Viṣṇu and was requested by him to intervene in the quarrel between the gods and the demons and distribute ambrosia among the gods. Lakṣmī and Lalitā represent the beneficent aspect of the Mother Goddess. In Purī, the dreadful aspect of the Mother Goddess is implied when it is said that the Goddess Kalipriyā (the beloved of Kali), the inauspicious deity emerging out of the ocean, wearing red garlands and garments should visit the house of quarrelsome people.

नारदपुराणान्तर्गतानि विशिष्टधर्मशास्त्रवचनानि

अनन्तशास्त्री फडके

[The Purāṇas extensively contain *Dharmaśāstra* material which is quoted in the later *nibandha* texts. Here in this article, the learned author has compiled such maxims from the Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa which are generally not found quoted in the Digests on the *Dharmaśāstra*. In these verses of the Bṛhannāradīya-Purāṇa certain rites are recommended to be performed and injunctions are made for the performance of certain deeds. Expiatory rites have been also recommended for those deeds which are done against the injunctions of the *Dharmaśāstra*. Here in these verses we meet with certain rites and rules of conduct which do not conform with those mentioned in the Digests. In such cases the writer has tried to reconcile the both. He has also commented upon those verses whose meaning is doubtful or obscure.]

नारदपुराणे धर्मशास्त्राणां प्रसिद्धा अंशा उपलभ्यन्ते तथा केचनाऽतिप्रसिद्धा अपि अंशा विद्यन्ते, ये प्रायः संप्रति विद्यमानेषु स्मृत्यादिग्रन्थेषु नोपलभ्यन्ते। एतेषामेव संग्रहोऽत्र लेखे कृतः, वचनानां क्रमोऽध्यायक्रममनुसृत्यैव स्थापितः, न तु समानविषयमनुसृत्येति।

१. पूर्वमीमांसापद्धत्या धर्मशास्त्रविचारकाः प्रायः पुराणविषयेषु केषुचिदर्थवादत्वं कल्पयन्ति, तत्कल्पनं महतेऽश्रेयसे कल्पते, तथाहि—

पुराणेष्वर्थवादत्वं ये वदन्ति नराधमाः।
तैरर्जितानि पुण्यानि क्षयं यान्ति द्विजोत्तमाः॥
समस्तकर्मनिर्मूलसाधनानि नराधमः।
पुराणान्यर्थवादेन ब्रुवन्नरकमश्नुते॥

२. सद्धर्मवक्तुश्चरणसंस्पृष्टां गङ्गोद्भवां तुलस्या मूलस्थितां च मृत्तिकां शिरसि धारणेन विष्णुपदप्राप्तिः—

सद्धर्मवक्तुः पदसंभवां मृदं गङ्गोद्भवां चैव तथा तुलस्याः ।
मूलोद्भवां भक्तियुतो मनुष्यो धृत्वा शिरस्येति पदं च विष्णोः ॥ पू. ६ २२

अत्र एतीति लेटः प्रयोगस्तेन विधिः संभवति एवं सर्वत्र ।

३. गंगायाः स्मरणे पापनाशः, दर्शने हरिलोकप्राप्तिः पाने सारूप्यमुक्तिलाभः—

अहो गंगा महाभागा स्मृता पापप्रणाशिनी ।
हरिलोकप्रदा दृष्टा पीता सारूप्यदायिनी ॥ पू. ६।६७

३. अदृष्टऋतुभी रजस्वलाभिश्च पत्युर्भरणे सहगमनं न कर्तव्यम्—

और्ववऋषिः बाहुपत्नीं कथयति—

बालापत्याश्च गर्भिण्यो ह्यदृष्टऋतवस्तथा ।
रजस्वला राजसुते ! नारोहन्ति चितां शुभे ॥ पू. ७।५२

४. पौत्रसत्वेऽपि तं पुत्रत्वेन परिगृह्णीयात्, अन्यथा यज्ञेऽधिकारो नास्ति—

यज्ञेष्वनधिकारत्वादपुत्राणामितिस्मृतेः ।
पौत्रं तमंशुमन्तं हि पुत्रत्वे कृतवान् प्रभुः ॥ पू. ८।११८ प्रभुः-सगरः

५. प्रायश्चित्त-चिकित्सा-ज्यौतिष-धर्मनिर्णयः शास्त्राधारेण वक्तव्योऽन्यथा ब्रह्म-घातदोषः—

प्रायश्चित्तं चिकित्सां च ज्यौतिषं धर्मनिर्णयम् ।
विना शास्त्रेण यो ब्रूयात्तमाहुर्ब्रह्मघातकम् ॥ पू. १२।६४

६. हरेश्चम्पकपुष्पैर्हरस्यार्कपुष्पैः पूजने तत्तत्सालोक्यप्राप्तिः—

हरिं तु चाम्पकैः पुष्पैरर्कपुष्पैश्च शङ्करम् ।
समभ्यर्च्य महाराज तत्तत्सालोक्यमाप्नुयात् ॥ पू. १३।६२

७. शिवलिङ्गाङ्कितमहिषोत्सर्गे यातनालोकाभावः—

धर्मराजो भगीरथं प्रति कथयति—

शिवलिङ्गाङ्कितं कृत्वा महिषं यः समुत्सृजेत् ।
न तस्य यातनालोको भवेन्नृपतिसत्तम ॥ पू. १३।९४

नृपतिसत्तम-भगीरथ !

८. शालिग्रामशिला-लिङ्गदाने च मोक्षप्राप्तिः, तच्च महादानम्—

शालग्रामशिलादानं महादानं प्रकीर्तितम् ।
यद्दत्वा मोक्षमाप्नोति लिङ्गदानं तथा स्मृतम् ॥ पू. १३।१०३

९. देव्यादिषु प्रदक्षिणासङ्ख्या—

देव्याः प्रदक्षिणामेकां सप्त सूर्यस्य भूमिप । भूमिप-भगीरथ !
तिस्रो विनायकस्यापि चतस्रो विष्णुमन्दिरे ॥ पू. १३।१३८

१०. शिवप्रदक्षिणा सव्येन करणे स्वर्ग स्थिरत्वम् ।

शिवं प्रदक्षिणं कृत्वा सव्येनैव विधानतः ।
नरो न च्यवते स्वर्गाच्छङ्करस्य प्रसादतः ॥ पू. १३।१४०

प्रचलितप्रदक्षिणाक्रमकरणे स्थानाद्यभावे कदाचिदेतत्करणेन विरोधपरिहारः संभवेत् ।

११. ब्राह्मणस्य गोमांसादिभक्षणादिकरणे प्रायश्चितम्—

अगम्यागमने विप्रो मद्यगोमांसभक्षणे ।
तप्तकृच्छ्रपरिक्षिप्तो मौर्वीहोमेन शुद्ध्यति ॥ पू. १४।२९
मौर्वी-यया च धनुषो गुणः क्रियते ।
एतदज्ञानादिना कृते प्रायश्चित्तं स्यात् ।

१२. गवादिवत्सानां रोधबन्धनादौ (तत्प्रयुक्तमरणे) दोषो नास्ति—

वत्सानां कण्ठबन्धेन क्रियया भेषजेन तु ।
सायं संगोपनार्थं च त्वदोषो रोधबन्धयोः ॥ पू. १४।४९

१३. स्त्रीभिः पत्यौ सत्त्वे शिरसो वपनं न कार्यं किन्तु प्रसङ्गे द्व्यङ्गुलच्छेदः—

सर्वान्केशान् समुद्धृत्य छेदयेदङ्गुलद्वयम् ।
एवमेव तु नारीणां मुण्डनं शिरसः स्मृतम् ।
न स्त्रिया वपनं कार्यं न च वीरासनं स्मृतम् ॥ पू. १४।५०-५१

क्वचिद् दाक्षिणात्येषु सर्वशिरोवपनं स्त्रीषु दृश्यते पत्यौ सत्त्वे तिरुपत्यादिदेवस्थानेषु ।

१४. पितृणां स्थानमाकाशं दक्षिणा दिक् च—

पितृणां स्थानमाकाशं दक्षिणा दिक् तथैव च । पू. १४।८९

स्वर्णस्तेयसमपापानि—

पितृयज्ञपरित्यागो धर्मकार्यविलोपनम् ।
यतीनां निन्दनं चैव स्वर्णस्तेयसमं स्मृतम् ॥
भक्ष्याणां चापहरणं धान्यानां हरणं तथा ।
रुद्राक्षहरणं चैव स्वर्णस्तेयसमं स्मृतम् ॥ पू. १५।३९-४०

प्रसिद्धानि सुवर्णस्तेयसमानानि-याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतौ—

अश्वरत्नमनुष्यस्त्रीभूधेनुहरणं तथा ।
निक्षेपस्य च सर्वं हि सुवर्णस्तेयसंमितम् ॥

प्रायश्चित्तप्रकरणे २३०

१५. सर्वपापेषु प्रायश्चित्तं विद्यते परं तु बौद्धालयगमने प्रायश्चित्ताभावः—

बौद्धालयं विशेद्यस्तु महापद्यपि वै द्विजः ।
न तस्य निष्कृतिर्दृष्टा प्रायश्चित्तशतैरपि ।
बौद्धाः पाषण्डिनः प्रोक्ता यतो वेदविनिन्दकाः ।
तस्माद् द्विजस्तान्नेक्षेत यतो धर्मबहिष्कृताः ॥
ज्ञानतोऽज्ञानतो वापि द्विजो बौद्धालयं विशेत् ।
ज्ञात्वा चेन्निष्कृतिर्नास्ति शास्त्राणामिति निश्चयः ॥पू. १५।५१-५३

१६. सादरं महन्निन्दाश्रवणे पापं तेन यमलोके महती यातना भवति—

यः शृणोति महन्निन्दां सादरं तत्फलं शृणु ।
तेषां कर्णेषु दाप्यन्ते तप्तायःकीलसंचयाः ॥
ततश्च तेषु छिद्रेषु तैलमत्युष्णमुल्बणम् ।
पूर्यते च ततश्चापि कुम्भीपाकं प्रपद्यते ॥ पू. १५।७७-७८

महायातनादिफलश्रवणेन महन्निन्दां न कुर्यादिति विधिः कल्प्यते ।

१७. स्त्रीशूद्रसमीपे वेदाध्ययने यमलोके यातनाबाहुल्यम्—

स्त्रीशूद्राणां समीपे तु ये वेदाध्ययने रताः ।
तेषां पापफलं वक्ष्ये शृणुष्व सुसमाहितः ॥
अधः शीर्षोर्ध्वपादाश्च कीलिता स्तम्भकद्वये ॥ पू. १५।१०१-१०२

अत्रापि यातनाश्रवणेन निषेधः कल्पनीयः ।

१८. समर्थः सन्नन्याचाररतमनिराकुर्वन् तत्पापभाग् नरकगामी च भवति—

अन्याचाररतं दृष्ट्वा यः शक्तो न निवारयेत् ।
तत्पापं समवाप्नोति नरकं तावुभावपि ॥ पू. १५।११४

अन्याचाररतः स्वस्याविहितकर्मकर्ता, तावुभौ=अन्याचारकर्ता तदनिवारकश्च ।

१९. न्यूनातिरिक्तपूरकाणि हरिकीर्तनेन समानि गङ्गा तुलस्यादीनि—

न्यूनातिरिक्तकृत्यानां संपूर्तिकरणाय च ।
गङ्गा च तुलसी चैव सत्सङ्गो हरिकीर्तनम् ॥
अनसूया ह्यहिंसा च सर्वेऽप्येते हि पापहाः ॥ पू. १५।१३६

२०. स्वधर्मपालनाविरोधेन परमेश्वरभक्तिः कार्याऽन्यथा साऽकृतैव भवति—

तस्माच्छृणुष्व भूपाल संसारविजिगीषुणा ।
स्वकर्मणोऽविरोधेन भक्तिः कार्या जनार्दने ॥
यः स्वधर्मं परित्यज्य भक्तिमात्रेण जीवति ।
न तस्य तुष्यते विष्णुराचारेणैव तुष्यते ॥
सर्वागमानामाचारः प्रथमः परिकल्पते ।
आचारप्रभवो धर्मो धर्मस्य प्रभुरच्युतः ॥
तस्मात्कार्या हरेर्भक्तिः स्वधर्मस्याविरोधिनी ।
सदाचारविहीनानां धर्मा अप्यसुखप्रदाः ॥
स्वधर्महीना भक्तिश्चाप्यकृतैव प्रकीर्तिता ।
तस्माद्धर्मपरो भूत्वा पूजयस्व जनार्दनम् ॥ पू. १५।१५२-१५७

भूपाल=भगीरथ ! एवमत्याश्रमिणां जीवन्मुक्तभक्तानां व्यवहारं दृष्ट्वा कर्मणां वैयर्थ्यं प्रतिपादयन्तः सांप्रतिका भक्ताभासा निरस्ताः ।

अनधिकारिणे निषिद्धदर्शनेषु भिषजादिषु काव्यकर्तुरपि दर्शनं निषिद्धम्—

भिषजं काव्यकर्तारं देवद्विजविरोधिनम् ।
परान्नलोलुपं चैव परस्त्रीनिरतं तथा ॥
व्रतोपवासनिरतो वाङ्मात्रेणापि नार्चयेत् ॥ पू. २३।२७-२८

२२. महत्यप्यापत्काले शूद्रवृत्त्यालम्बनं नैव कार्यमन्यथा चाण्डालताप्राप्तिः—

नाश्रयेच्छूद्रवृत्तिं तु अत्यापद्यपि वै द्विजः।
यद्याश्रयेद् द्विजो मूढस्तदा चाण्डालतां व्रजेत् ॥ पू० २४।३२

२३. जातकर्मणि केनापि प्रकारेण वृद्धिश्राद्धमन्नेन न करणीयं करणे चाण्डालसमता—

हेम्ना वा रजतेनापि वृद्धिश्राद्धं प्रकल्पयेत्।
अन्नेन कारयेद्यस्तु स चाण्डालसमो भवेत् ॥ पू० २५।६

२४. विषमाद्यक्षरं नाम नामकर्मसंस्कारे न स्थापयेत्—

अस्पष्टमर्थहीनं च श्रुतिगुर्वक्षरान्वितम्।
न दद्यान्नाम विप्रेन्द्र तथा च विषमाक्षरम् ॥ पू० २५।७

"द्व्यक्षरं चतुरक्षरं वा" इति गृह्यसूत्रेण "माङ्गल्यं ब्राह्मणस्य" "शर्मवद् ब्राह्मणस्य" "स्त्रीणां सुखोद्यममक्रूरम्' इति मनुना च नारदीयं समन्वैति परंतु कुल्लूकभट्टटीकायामुदाहरणप्रदर्शने "यथा यशोदादेवीति" कथनं कथंचित्कन्यापुत्रयोः सम-विषमाक्षरादिकं प्रकल्प्य समन्वेतुं शक्यम्।

२५. द्विजानामुपनयने मुख्यकालातिक्रमे व्रात्यस्तोमक्रतुतो भिन्नं प्रायश्चित्तम्—

द्विजोपनयने विप्र मुख्यकालव्यतिक्रमे।
द्वादशाब्दं चरेत्कृच्छ्रं पश्चाच्चान्द्रायणं तथा ॥
सान्तपनद्वयं चैव कृत्वा कर्म समारभेत्।
अन्यथा पतितं विद्यात्कर्तापि ब्रह्महा भवेत् ॥ पू० २५।१५-१६

अन्यत्र स्मृत्यादौ गौणकालेऽतिक्रान्ते व्रात्यपदभाजो व्रात्यस्तोमक्रतुं विना संस्कारार्हा न भवन्तीति प्रतिपादितम्। यथा याज्ञवल्क्यः "आषोडशाद् द्विविंशाच्चतुर्विंशाच्च वत्सरात्। ब्रह्मक्षत्रविशां काल औपनायनिकः परः ॥ (परः-गौणः) सावित्रीपतिता व्रात्या व्रात्यस्तोमादृते क्रतोः" ॥ इत्याह।

२६. सभादिषु प्रत्येकं नमस्कारो वर्ज्यः—

सभायां यज्ञशालायां देवतायतनेष्वपि।
प्रत्येकं तु नमस्कारो हन्ति पुण्यं पुराकृतम् ॥ पू० २५।४२

अत्र पुराकृतपुण्यनाशश्रवणात्सर्वानुद्दिश्यैकं नमस्कारं कुर्यादिति विधिः कल्पनीयः ।

२७. मुख्यसापिण्ड्यपरित्यागे गुरुस्त्रीगमनदोष :—

मातृतः पञ्चमीं धीमान् पितृतः सप्तमीं तथा ।
द्विजः समुद्वहेत्कन्यामन्यथा गुरुतल्पगः ॥ २६।४

अस्य वचनस्यार्थसंगमनं कथं चित् "समुद्वहेत्" इत्यत्र "समुद्धरेत्" इति पाठं प्रकल्प्य मातृतो मातुः सन्ताने पञ्चमीकन्यापर्यन्तं समुद्धरेत नाम कन्यास्त्यक्त्वा, पितृतः—पितृसन्ताने सप्तमीकन्यापर्यन्तं कन्याः समुद्धरेद्-त्यक्त्वा विवाहो योग्यः । यथाह याज्ञवल्क्यः— "पञ्चमात्सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा" ५३ इति ।

अथवा वसिष्ठवचनस्य "पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातृतः पितृतस्तथा" इत्यस्य यथा अर्वाङ्निषेधार्थं न पुनस्तत्प्राप्त्यर्थमित्यर्थो मिताक्षरायां कृतस्तथा करणीयः ।

२८. आर्द्रास्थ्यादि स्पर्शे सचैलं स्नानम्—

आर्द्रास्थि च तथोच्छिष्टं शूद्रं च पतितं तथा ।
सर्पं च भक्षणं स्पृष्ट्वा सवासास्स्नानमाचरेत् ॥
स्पृष्ट्वा देवलकं चैव सवासा जलमाविशेत् ॥ पू० २५।३०-३१

देवलकं-देवार्चकं (कदाचिच्छिवलिङ्गपूजकं शिवनिर्माल्यादिग्राहकं महाराष्ट्रदेशे गुरवपदवाच्यम्) एवं शूद्रपदं च सच्छूद्रभिन्नशूद्रपरं बोध्यम् ।

२९. ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रादि श्राद्धे निषिद्धम्—

ऊर्ध्वपुण्ड्रं च तुलसीं श्राद्धे नेच्छन्ति केचन ॥ २६।४४

महाराष्ट्रदेशे तुलसीं विना श्राद्धं न संपद्यते, अत एव केचिदित्युक्तम् ।

३०. पञ्च प्राणाय स्वाहेत्याद्या आहुतीर्मुखे दत्त्वाऽऽचमनं कृत्वा भोजनं कार्यम्—

प्राणाद्याहुतीर्दत्त्वाऽऽचम्य भोजनमाचरेत् ॥ पू. २७।८२

संप्रति उपस्तरणरूपाचमनं कृत्वा प्राणाद्याहुतीर्दत्त्वा नेत्रे जलेन संस्पृश्य भोजनं समाचरन्ति ।

३१. श्राद्धदिवसात्पागू (पूर्वदिनस्य) निशि विप्रनिमन्त्रणम्—

क्षयाहपूर्वदिवसे स्नात्वा चैकाशनो भवेत् ।
अधःशायी ब्रह्मचारी निशि विप्रान् निमन्त्रयेत् ॥ पू. २८।२

३१. गायककाव्यकर्त्रादिकाः श्राद्धे निषिद्धाः, तत्र काव्यकर्तुर्निषेधोऽन्यत्राप्रसिद्धः—

गायकाः काव्यकर्तारो भिषक्शास्त्रोपजीविनः । पू. २८।१७

३३. सर्वथा श्राद्धे वेदविद्विप्रप्राप्त्यभावे भ्रात्रादीन् श्राद्धे नियुञ्जीत न तु मूर्खम्—

ब्राह्मणानामभावे तु भ्रातरं पुत्रमेव च ।
आत्मानं वा नियुञ्जीत न विप्रं वेदवर्जितम् ॥ पू. २८।३४

अत्रात्मनो योजना कथञ्चिद् "आत्मैव ह्यात्मनो बन्धुरात्मैव रिपुरात्मनः" इतिवत् उपाधिनाऽऽत्मानं विभज्य संपादयितुं शक्यते ।

३४. श्राद्धे विभक्तिविचारे विशेषः—

अक्षय्यासनयोः षष्ठी द्वितीयाऽऽवाहने स्मृता । पू. २८।३७

सर्वत्र प्रसिद्धपाठः पद्धतिश्चैतादृशी "संकल्पासनयोः षष्ठी द्वितीयाऽऽवाहने तथा"

३५. मकरसंक्रमणे पराञ्चिशद्घटिकाः पूर्वाश्चत्वारिंशच्च घटिका पुण्यकालः—

माकरं संक्रमणं प्राहुरुत्तरायणसंज्ञकम् ।
पराञ्चिशच्च घटिकाश्चत्वारिंशत पूर्ववत् ॥ पू. २९।२५

प्रसिद्धग्रन्थेषु "मकरे विंशती परे" इति सिद्धान्तः ।

३६. कलामात्रस्थित-द्वादश्यां पारणानुरोधेन विद्धापि दशमी तिथिरुपोषणार्हा—

द्वादश्यां तु कलायां वा यदि लभ्येत पारणा ।
तदानीं दशमी विद्धाप्युपोष्यैकादशी तिथिः ॥ पू. २९।४४

३७. परनाशाय पूजादिकरणं स्वनाशायैव कल्पते—

अन्यश्रेयोविनाशार्थं येऽर्चयन्ति जनार्दनम् ।
सा पूजैव महाभाग पूजकानाशु हन्ति वै ॥ पू. ३७।७

३८. स्थण्डिलाद्युल्लेखनं समिधा याज्ञे स्मार्ते कर्मणि क्रियतेऽत्र स्रुवेण कुशेन वोक्तम्—

स्रुवेण च कुशेनापि कुर्यादुल्लेखनं बुधः ॥ पू. ५१।१८

३९. प्रायो ब्रह्माथर्ववेदी भवति परन्त्वत्र स्वशाखीयो लिखितः—

ब्रह्माचार्यौ स्वशाखौ हि कर्तव्यौ यज्ञकर्मणि ।
ऋत्विजां नियमो नास्ति यथाशाखं समर्चयेत् ॥ पू. ५१।२५

४०. सामगानप्रारम्भे प्रणवव्याहृतिसावित्रीणामुच्चारणमावश्यकम्—

प्रणवं प्राक् प्रयुञ्जीत व्याहृतीस्तदनन्तरम् ।
सावित्रीं चानुवचनं ततो वै गानमाचरेत् ॥ पू. ५१।८३

संप्रति तु ॐ स्थानीयं हूँ (मा) इति समुच्चार्य सामगानं समाचरन्ति ।

४१. मातृयागं (गौर्यादिमातृपूजनं) विना स्वतन्त्रतया ग्रहयागं न कुर्यात्—

अकृत्वा मातृयागं तु यो ग्रहार्चां समारभेत् ।
कुप्यन्ति मातरस्तस्य प्रत्यूहं कुर्वते तथा ॥ पू. ५१।९५

यत्र मातृयागग्रहयागयोरुभयोरपि विधानं तत्रेति योजनीयम् । ग्रहयागस्य याज्ञवल्क्येन "श्रीकामः शान्तिकामो वा ग्रहयज्ञं समाचरेत्" (२९५) इति स्वातन्त्र्येण विधानात् ।

४२. देवपूजा त्वनेकप्रकारा तस्या भेदास्त्वातुरीप्रभृतयः—

पूजा पञ्चविधा तत्र कथिता नारदादिभिः ॥ पू. ६७।१२४
आतुरी सौतिकी त्रासी साधनाभाविनी तथा ।
दौर्बोधी च क्रमादासां लक्षणानि शृणुष्व मे ॥

१ आतुरो रोगादियुक्तो न स्नायान्न जपेन्न च पूजयेत् ।
विलोक्य पूजां देवस्य मूर्तिं वा सूर्यमण्डलम् ॥
प्रणम्याथ स्मरन्मंत्रमर्पयेत्कुसुमाञ्जलिम् ।
रोगे निवृत्ते स्नात्वाथ नत्वा संपूजयेद् गुरुम् ॥ पू. ६७।१७
त्वत्प्रसादाज्जगन्नाथ जगत्पूज्य दयानिधे । पू० ६७।१२८
पूजाविच्छेददोषो मे मास्त्विति प्रार्थयेच्च तम् ॥

द्विजानपि च संपूज्य यथाशक्त्या प्रतोष्य च ।
तेभ्यश्चाशिषमादाय देवं प्राग्वत्ततोऽर्चयेत् ॥
आतुरी कथिता ह्येषा सौतिक्यथ निगद्यते ।

२ सौतिकी सूतकं द्विविधं प्रोक्तं जाताख्यं मृतसंज्ञकम् ॥
तत्र स्नात्वा मानसीं तु कृत्वा सन्ध्यां समाहितः ।
मनसैव यजेद्देवं मनसैव जपेन्मनुम् ।
निवृत्ते सूतके प्राग्वत्संपूज्य च गुरुं द्विजान् ॥
तेभ्यश्चाशिषमादाय ततो नित्यक्रमं चरेत् ।
एषा तु सौतिकी प्रोक्ता त्रासी चाथ निगद्यते ॥

३ त्रासी दुष्टेभ्यस्त्रासमापन्नो यथा लब्धोपचारकैः ।
मानसैर्वा यजेद्देवं त्रासी सा परिकीर्तिता ॥

४ साधना- पूजा-साधनवस्तूनामसामर्थ्ये तु सर्वतः ।
भाविनी पुष्पैः पत्रैः फलैर्वापि मनसा वा यजेद्विभुम् ।
साधनाभाविनी ह्येषा दौर्बोधीं शृणु नारद

५ दौर्बोधी स्त्रियो वृद्धास्तथा बाला मूर्खास्तैस्तु यथाक्रमम् ।
यथाज्ञानकृता सा तु दौर्बोधीति प्रकीर्तिता ॥
एवं यथा कथञ्चित्तु पूजां कुर्याद्धि साधकः ।
देवपूजाविहीनो यः स गच्छेन्नरकं ध्रुवम् ॥ पू० ६७।१३७

४३. प्रायस्तान्त्रिका मन्त्राः पित्रा शिष्यादिभ्यो दीयन्ते न तु स्वपुत्राय परन्तत्र तान्त्रिकमन्त्रविषये स्वपुत्राय दानं निहितम्—

मनवोऽमी सदा गोप्या न प्रकाश्या यतस्ततः ।
परीक्षिताय शिष्याय देया वा निजसूनवे ॥ पू० ७५।१०५

४४. यस्य यत्प्रियं वस्तु तत्तस्मै समर्पयेत्, कस्मै किं प्रियं तत्प्रतिपादितम्—

दीपप्रियः कार्तवीर्यो मार्तण्डो नतिवल्लभः ।
स्तुतिप्रियो महाविष्णुर्गणेशस्तर्पणप्रियः ॥
दुर्गार्चनप्रिया नूनमभिषेकप्रियः शिवः ।
तस्मात्तेषां प्रतोषाय विदध्यात्तत्तदादरात् ॥ पू० ७६।११५-११६

४५. शिवपूजा तिलमिश्रैरक्षतैः केवलैश्च वा कर्तव्या—

मुद्धृतेन तस्य मध्ये महेशं लिङ्गाकारं पीठयुक्तं प्रपूज्य ।
एवं कृत्वा साधकास्ते तु सर्वे दत्त्वा दत्त्वा पञ्चगन्धाष्टगन्धम् ।
पुष्पैः पत्रैः श्रीतिलैरक्षतैश्च तिलोन्मिश्रैः केवलैश्च प्रपूज्या ॥
पू० ७९।४७-४८

४६. फाल्गुनपूर्णिमायां होलिकापूजनदाहप्रसङ्गेऽमंगलशब्दोच्चारणादिप्रकारोऽन्यत्र स्फुटोल्लिखितोऽप्यत्र नास्ति किन्तु गीतमङ्गलैर्दाहो विहितः, अयं च संवत्सरदाहशब्देन लोके प्रसिद्धः, केषांचिन्मते कामदाहपदेनापि प्रसिध्यति—

फाल्गुने पूर्णिमायां तु होलिकापूजनं मतम् ।
संचयं सर्वकाष्ठानामुपलानां च कारयेत् ॥
तत्राग्निं विधिवद्दत्त्वा रक्षोघ्नैर्मन्त्रविस्तरैः ।
असृक्पाभयसंत्रस्तैः कृता त्वं होलि बालिशैः ॥
अतस्त्वां पूजयिष्यामि भूते भूतिप्रदा भव ।
इति मन्त्रेण संदीप्य काष्ठादिक्षेपणैस्ततः ॥
परिक्रम्योत्सवः कार्यो गीतवादित्रनिःस्वनैः ।
होलिका राक्षसी चेयं प्रह्लादभयदायिनी ॥
अतस्त्वां प्रदहन्त्येवं काष्ठाद्यैर्गीतमङ्गलैः ।
संवत्सरस्य दाहोऽयं कामदाहो मतान्तरे ॥
इति जानीहि विप्रेन्द्र लोके स्थितिरनेकधा ॥ पू० १२४।७६-८१

लोकेस्थितिरनेकधा कथनेन होलिकोत्सवस्य नैकविधत्वमनेकनामसत्ता च बोध्यते ।

४७. भाद्रपदामावास्यायां तिलक्षेत्रसमुद्भवदर्भान् संच्छिद्यानाय्य स्थापने ते दर्भाः सर्वदा यावद्वर्षमुपयोगिनो भवन्ति—

भाद्रदर्शेऽपराह्णे तु तिलक्षेत्रसमुद्भवान् ।
विरिञ्चिमनुनामन्त्र्य हुंफट्छिन्नान्कुशान् द्विज ।
सर्वदा सर्वकार्येषु योजयेदेकदाऽपरान् ॥ पू० १२४।८६-८७

अत्र भागेऽपरस्मिन् भागे च निषेधेन, लेट्कल्पनेन च बहुप्रकाराणि कृत्यत्र प्रायोऽप्रसिद्धानि धर्मबोधकवचनान्युन्नयितुं शक्येरन् । परन्त्वयं

प्रयत्नः सर्वमान्यो भविष्यति न वेति विषये चेतः संदेग्धि । किञ्च स्वायत्ते शब्दप्रयोगे कुत्रचिद् भगवान् व्यासो विधिलिङं प्रयुङ्क्ते । कुत्र चिल्लुटं कुत्रचिद् भूतकालबोधकलिटादिलकारान् । कुत्रचिन्निषेधं च लिखति । अतः स्यात्तस्य सर्वादरणीयस्य महतो विदुषो लोकोपकारं कर्तुमेव धृत-शरीरस्याभिप्रायविशेषः । अतः क्वचित्तादृशः प्रयत्नः (अ० ६ श्लो० २२ तथा अ० १५ श्लो० ७७-७८, १०१-१०२) कृतः परन्त्वेत-त्करणमपि सर्वथानुचितमेव, अर्थवादतुल्यमेवैतादृशं किमपि कल्पनीयम् । अर्थवादकल्पनाकरणे महदश्रेयः प्राप्नोति कल्पकमिति प्रारम्भे एवोक्तम् । एवं च पुराणेषु विशेषतो नारदपुराणे यद्वाक्येन यद्यदर्थजातं बोध्यते तत्तथैवेति स्वीकरणीयमेव कल्याणाय कल्पेतेति सुनिश्चितम् ।

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बृहन्नारदमहापुराणस्योत्तरभागः

१. ज्ञाताज्ञातपातकयोरार्द्रशुष्के संज्ञे अत्रैवोपलभ्येते, प्रायोऽन्यत्र न स्तः—

अज्ञातं पातकं शुष्कं ज्ञातं चार्द्रमुदाहृतम् ॥ उ. १।५

२. आगमेषु विरुद्धेषु ब्राह्मणेषु च विवदमानेषु द्वादश्यैवोपोष्या—

बह्वागमविरोधेषु ब्राह्मणेषु . विवादिषु ।
उपोष्या द्वादशी पुण्या त्रयोदश्यां तु पारणम् ॥उ. २।३०

३. बालादिभिरेकादशीदिने नोपवासः कर्तव्य इति व्यवस्थां निराकृत्य तैरपि उपवासः कर्तव्य इति व्यवस्था रुक्मांगदेन स्वराज्ये स्थापिता—

बालो युवा वा वृद्धो वा गुर्विणी वा कुमारिका ।
सरोगो विकलो वापि न शक्नोति ह्युपोषितुम् ॥
इत्येवं जल्पितं यैस्तु तान्निरस्य समंततः ।
वचोभिस्तु पुराणोक्तैर्बासरैर्बहुभिस्त्वहम् ॥ अहम्-रुक्माङ्गदः ।
संबोधयित्वा बहुशः प्रजानां सुखहेतवे ।
निगृह्य तान् हरिदिने निराहारान् करोमि च ॥

शास्त्रदृष्ट्या तु विदुषो मूर्खान् दण्डनपूर्वकम् ।
शासयित्वा कृताः सर्वे निराहारा हरेर्दिने ॥ उ. ९।१४-१८

४. सर्वत्र जीवघातकाः पञ्चविधाः प्रोक्ताः, अत्र षट्प्रकारा जीवघातकानाम्—

षड्विधं नृपते प्रोक्तं विद्वद्भिर्जीवघातनम् ।
अनुमोदयिता पूर्वं द्वितीयो घातकः स्मृतः ॥
विश्वासकस्तृतीयोऽपि चतुर्थो भक्षकः स्मृतः ।
पञ्चमः पाचकः प्रोक्तः षष्ठो भूपात्र विग्रही ॥ उ. १०।८-९

५. चाण्डालेषु कुमारिकासंभवोप्येकः परिगणितः—

अनूढा कन्यका राजन् यदि गर्भं बिभर्ति हि ।
प्रसूयति दिवाकीर्तिं सर्ववर्णविगर्हितम् ॥ २
चाण्डालयोनयस्तिस्रः पुराणे कवयो विदुः ।
कुमारीसंभवा ह्येका सगोत्रापि द्वितीयका ।
ब्राह्मण्यां शूद्रजनिता तृतीया नृपपुंगव ! ॥ उ. १३।४ रुक्मांगद !

६. एकस्यां भार्यायां सत्त्वे द्वितीयापरिणये जेष्ठायै द्विगुणं द्रव्यदानमभिलषितं वा देयम्—

यो भार्यामुद्वहन् भर्ता द्वितीयामपरामपि ।
जेष्ठायै द्विगुणं तस्या दद्याच्चैवान्यथा ऋणी ॥
अनुज्ञाप्य यदा भर्ता ज्येष्ठामन्यां समुद्वहेत् ।
तदा ज्येष्ठाभिलषितं देयमाहुः पुराविदः ॥ उ. १८।३०-३२

७. पितुः पुत्रोद्वाहाकरणे नरकगमनम्, गुणहीनस्यापि पुत्रस्य विवाहः कार्य एव—

यः पुत्रस्य पितोद्वाहं न करोतीह मन्दधीः ।
स मज्जेन्नरके घोरे ह्यप्रतिष्ठे युगायुतम् ।
... ...
पुत्रस्य गुणयुक्तस्य निर्गुणस्यापि सत्तमे ।
पित्रा कारयितव्यो हि विवाहो धर्ममिच्छता ॥ उ. २१।१०-१३

८. कार्तिके मांसभक्षणे चाण्डालत्वम्—

चाण्डालो जायते देवि कार्तिके मांसभक्षणात् ॥ उ. २२।५८

९. कार्तिके विनोत्तरायणलग्नशुद्धौ विवाहः कर्तव्यः, एवं वर्षव्रतसमाप्तिश्च—

संवत्सरव्रतानां हि समाप्तिः कार्तिके स्मृता ।
विवाहा यत्र दृश्यन्ते विष्णोर्नाभिसरोरुहे ॥
दिनानि यत्र चत्वारि यथैकं वरवर्णिनि ! । मोहिनि !
विनोत्तरायणे काले लग्नशुद्धिं विनापि च ॥
दृश्यन्ते यत्र सम्बन्धाः पुत्रपौत्रविवर्धनाः ॥ उ. २२।६३-६५

१०. केन कृत्येन कस्यां कस्यां तिथौ पातकं भवत्यत्र विचारविशेषः—

त्रैलोक्यघातिनः पापं मैथुने शशिनः क्षये ।
नरस्य संचरेत्पापं भूतायां क्षौरकर्मणि ॥
भोजने वासरे विष्णोस्तैले षष्ठ्यां व्यवस्थिते ॥
लवणे तु तृतीयायां सप्तम्यां पिशिते शुभे !
आज्येषु पौर्णमास्यां वै सुरायां रविसंक्रमे ॥ २३।६८-७०

एतच्च प्रायः कार्तिके मासे इति प्रतिभाति, उपक्रमे तस्यैव प्रचलितत्वात् ।

११. द्वादश्यां (एकादश्यां) केन भोक्तव्यं केन नेतिविषये रुक्मांगदमोहिनीविवाद एकादशीकर्तव्यनिर्णयविषये विचारणीयोऽस्ति—

एकभुक्तेन नक्तेन तथैवायाचितेन च ।
उपवासेन राजेन्द्र द्वादशीं न हि लङ्घयेत् ॥
गुर्विणीनां गृहस्थानां क्षीणानां रोगिणां तथा ।
शिशूनां बलिगात्राणां न युक्तं समुपोषणम् ॥
यज्ञभोगोद्यतानां च संग्रामक्षितिसेविनाम् ।
पतिव्रतानां राजेन्द्र न युक्तं समुपोषणम् ॥
एतन्मे गौतमः प्राह स्थिताया मन्दराचले ॥
ते गृहस्था द्विजा ज्ञेया येषामग्निपरिग्रहः ।
राजानस्ते तु विज्ञेया ये प्रजापालने स्थिताः ॥

गुर्विणी ह्यष्टमासीया शिशवश्चाष्टवत्सराः ।
अतिलङ्घिनिः क्षीणा वलिगात्रास्तु वार्धकाः ॥
ये विवाहादिमाङ्गल्यकर्मव्यग्रा महोत्सवाः ।
निवृत्ताश्च प्रवृत्तेभ्यो यज्ञानां चोद्यता हि ते ॥
त्रिविधेन पुराणेन (प्रकारेण) भतुर्या स्त्री हिते रता ।
पतिव्रता तु सा ज्ञेया योनिसंरक्षणा तथा ॥ उ. २१।७५-८२

रुक्मांगदः— यत्त्वया व्याहृतं वाक्यं ममेदं गौतमेरितम् ।
अमतेन पुराणानां व्याहृतं यद्द्विजन्मना ॥
क्षुद्रशास्त्रोपदेशेन लोलुपेन वरानने ।
पुराणे निर्णयो ह्येष विद्वद्भिः समुदाहृतः ॥
न शंखेन पिबेत्तोयं न हन्यात्कूर्मसूकरौ ।
एकादश्यां न भोक्तव्यं पक्षयोरुभयोरपि ॥
पुरोडाशोऽपि वामोरु संप्राप्ते हरिवासरे ।
अभक्ष्येण समः प्रोक्तः किं पुनश्चाशनक्रिया ॥ उ. २५।२-६
चतुष्पदेभ्योऽपि जनैर्नान्नं देयं हरेर्दिने ।
उत्तराशास्थितैर्विप्रविष्णुधर्मपरायणैः ॥ उ. २५।१६

१२. काश्यामशुभकर्मक्वच्छुभकर्माणि नश्यति यतो मरणान्मुक्तिप्राप्ते :—

विनश्यन्तीह कर्माणि शुभान्यप्यशुभानि च ।
भूतभव्यभविष्याणि ज्ञानाज्ञानकृतानि च ॥ उ. २९।७१

१३. एकासने स्त्री (कन्या) पुरुषयोः स्थित्या भर्तृभार्यात्वसिद्धिः—

येनैकासनगा नारी भवेद्भर्ता स एव हि ।
नान्य इत्थं पुराणेषु श्रूयते ह्यागमेष्वपि ॥

१४. प्रायोऽत्र द्वादशी उपोष्येत्यनेकत्र प्रोक्तम्, एकादशीसमुपोष्येत्यपि क्वचित्—

श्रूयते हि पुराणेषु गाथाः सुभ्रु समीरिताः ।
द्वादशीं प्रति संबद्धाः स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदायिकाः ॥
न त्यजेद् द्वादशीं पुण्यां पक्षयोरुभयोरपि ॥ उ. ३२।९-१४

१५. पित्रादिप्रयोजनसिद्ध्यै मरणं मृतस्य श्रेष्ठलोकप्रापकम्—

पितुरर्थे हता ये तु मातुरर्थे हतास्तथा ।
गवार्थे ब्राह्मणार्थे वा प्रमदार्थे महीपते ॥
भूम्यर्थे पार्थिवार्थे वा देवतार्थे तथैव च ।
बालार्थे विकलार्थे च यान्ति लोकान् सुभास्वरान् ॥उ.३३।६२-६४

१६. धर्माङ्गदः पितरं रुक्मांगदं प्रति—

धर्मार्थे तनयं हन्याद् भार्यां वापि महीपते ।
श्रूयते वेदवाक्येषु पुत्रं हन्यान्मखस्थितः ॥
अश्वमेधे मखवरे न दोषो जायते नृप ॥ उ. ३३।६६

१७. कार्यस्य संपादने अफलेऽपि प्राप्ते स्वामिना भृत्याय वेतनं देयं तुष्टिफलं तु न देयम्—

सिद्धौ वाप्यथवासिद्धौ कर्मकृत्स्यादवृथा न हि ।
भर्तव्यो भृत्यवर्गश्च भूभुजा धर्ममिच्छता ।
सद्भावे घटमानस्य यदि कर्म न सिद्ध्यति ॥
देयं वेतनमात्रं तु न च तुष्टिफलं भवेत् ।
यो न तस्मै प्रयच्छेत जीवनं जीवनाय वै ।
गोवधं समवाप्नोति स नरो नात्र संशयः ॥ उ. ३५।३५-३८

१८. भृत्येनापि कार्यसिद्धौ वेतनं ग्राह्यमन्यथा नरकप्राप्तिः—

असाधिते तु यः कार्ये नरो गृह्णाति वेतनम् ।
स्वामिनं तु परित्यज्य प्रयाति नरकं ध्रुवम् ॥ उ. ३५।४८
भृत्ये कार्यकरणसंलग्ने दैवात्कार्यं न सिद्ध्यति तदा स्वामिप्रदत्तं जीवनं ग्राह्यम्, परन्तु कार्यमङ्गीकृत्यापि यो भृत्यः कार्यं न साधयति जीवनं तु गृह्णाति स नरकगामी ।

१९. मनुष्याणां स्वामिकार्याकरणानामधोगतिविषये किं वक्तव्यं देवा अप्यधोगतिभाजो भवन्ति—

न साधयन्ति ये कार्यं स्वामिनां तु दिवौकसः ।
भृत्या वेतनभोक्तारो जायन्ते भूतले हयाः ॥ उ. ३५।४९

२०. अज्ञानाद् हरिवासरे भुज्यतामित्युक्ते जातपापस्य प्राणायामशतकरणं प्रायश्चितम्—

अज्ञानाद् व्याहृते वाक्ये भुज्यतां हरिवासरे ।
तस्यापि शुद्धिर्गदिता प्राणायामशतेन हि ॥ उ. ३५।६६

२१. पतिव्रताख्यीकरणीयभर्तृसेवाप्रकारः—

वेदैः शुश्रूषणं भर्तुः स्त्रीणां धर्मः प्रकीर्तितः ।
यद् ब्रवीति पतिः किंचित् तत्कार्यमविशङ्कया ॥
शुक्लं शुक्लमिति ब्रूयात्कृष्णं कृष्णेति चामराः ।
शुश्रूषा सा हि विज्ञेया न शुश्रूषा हि सेवनम् ॥ उ. ३५।७३-७४

२२. महति कार्ये संपादनीये ज्येष्ठेन कनिष्ठस्य कृतः प्रणामो न दोषाय भवति—

कार्ये महति संप्राप्ते ह्यसाध्ये भुवनत्रये ।
न दूषितं भवेद् भूप यविष्ठस्याभिवादनम् ॥ उ. ३६।३२

२३. दशम्या निशीथ एकादश्या वेधो देवकृतैकादशीविषयः, सूर्योदये वेधोऽसुराणां कृते—

वेधो निशीथे देवानामुपकाराय मोहिनि ।
सूर्योदयेऽसुराणां च हरिणा परिकल्पितः ॥ उ. ३७।२

२४. वैष्णवानां कृतेऽष्टमहाद्वादशिकास्तासूपवासः—

महाद्वादशिका ह्यष्टौ याः स्मृता वैष्णवागमे ।
तास्तु ह्येकादशीभिन्ना उपोष्यन्ते च वैष्णवैः ॥
एकादशीव्रतं भिन्नं वैष्णवानां महात्मनाम् ।
नित्यं पक्षद्वये प्रोक्तं विधिना त्रिदिनात्मके ॥
सा प्रातस्त्यजेद्भुक्तिं क्रमात्पूर्वापराह्णयोः ।
एकादशी यदा भिन्ना उपोष्या हि परेऽहनि ॥
द्वादश्यां हि व्रतं कार्यं निरम्बु समुपोषणम् ॥ उ. ३७।२-६

२५. लङ्घनं कर्तुमेकादशीदिनेऽसमर्थानां कृते श्राद्धद्रव्यविधानं तत्परिमाणं च—

लङ्घने त्वसमर्थानां जलं शाकं फलं पयः ।
नैवेद्यं वा हरेः प्रोक्तं स्वाहारात्पादसंमितम् ॥

सकामाः सूर्योदये दशम्या वेधे विद्धैकादशीं त्यजन्ति, निष्कामा मध्यरात्रे दशमीविद्धां त्यजन्ति—

स्मार्ताः सूर्योदये विद्धां त्यजन्त्येकादशीं सति । मोहिनि !
निष्कामा मध्यरात्रे च विद्धां मुञ्चन्ति याम्यया ॥दशम्या उ. ।३७।७८

१६. गङ्गायास्तिथ्यादिदिनभेदप्रकारेण भूम्यादि स्थितिः—

पक्षादौ कृष्णपक्षे तु भूमौ संनिहिता भवेत् ।
यावत्पुण्या ह्यमावास्या दिनानि दश मोहिनि ॥
शुक्लप्रतिपदादेश्च दिनानि दश सङ्ख्यया ।
पाताले संनिधानं तु कुरुते स्वयमेव हि ॥
आरभ्य शुक्लैकादश्या दिनानि दश यानि तु ।
पञ्चम्यन्तानि सा स्वर्गे भवे संनिहिता तदा ॥ उ. ३८।१७-१९

१७. गंगांभो विष्णुस्वरूपमेव, अन्यत्र विष्णुपादोदकरूपम् विष्णुपादसंभावं च—

योऽसौ सर्वगतो विष्णुश्चित्स्वरूपी जनार्दनः ।
स एव द्रवरूपेण गङ्गाम्भो नात्र संशयः ॥ उ. ३८।२३

१८. अन्यत्र कृतं पापं गंगातीरे विनश्यति गंगातीरजं पापं गंगास्नानेन नश्यति—

अन्यस्थानकृतं पापं गंगातीरे विनश्यति ।
गंगातीरे कृतं पापं गंगास्नानेन नश्यति ॥ उ. ३९।२५

१९. चतुर्दश्यष्टम्योर्वाराणस्यां गंगा सद्यो मुक्तिदा—

वाराणस्यां विशेषेण गंगा सद्यस्तु मुक्तिदा ।
प्रतिमासं चतुर्दश्यामष्टम्यां चैव सर्वदा ॥ उ. ३९।४३

२०. गंगायां प्रातः स्नानापेक्षया शिवसंन्निधौ सायंकाले कृतं स्नानमनन्तं फ ददाति—

प्रातः स्नानाद्दशगुणं पुण्यं मध्यन्दिने स्मृतम् ।
सायंकाले शतगुणमनन्तं शिवसंनिधौ ॥ उ. ३९।४४-४५

अत्र सर्वत्र प्रातः स्नानं कृत्वैव मध्यंदिनादिस्नानकर्तुः फलमिति मन्तव्यम् ।

३१. गृहे स्नानप्रसङ्गे गंगानामोच्चारणे नाकगमनं वरुणेनोक्तम्—

यो गृहे स्वे स्थितोऽपि त्वां स्नाने संकीर्तयिष्यति ।
सोऽपि यास्यति नाकं वै इत्याह वरुणश्च ताम् ॥ तां गगां,
उ. ३९।४८

३२. गंगातीरे माघमासे नक्तभोजनस्य विशेषफलं नक्तभोजनकर्तुर्नियमाश्च—

देवैस्तु भुक्तं पूर्वाह्णे मध्याह्ने ऋषिभिस्तथा ।
अपराह्णे च पितृभिः शर्वर्यां गुह्यकादिभिः ॥ उ. ४३।९
सर्वा वेला अतिक्रम्य नक्तभोजनमुत्तमम् ।
उपवासाद्वरं भैक्ष्यं भैक्ष्याद्वरमयाचितम् ॥
अयाचिताद्वरं नक्तं तस्मान्नक्तं समाचरेत् ॥
हविष्यभोजनं स्नानं सत्यमाहारलाघवम् ।
अग्निकार्यमधःशय्यां नक्ताशी षट् समाचरेत् ॥ उ. ४३।१०-१३

३३. जगन्नाथरथयात्रावद्गंगारथयात्रापि पापकर्तृणां दुर्लभदर्शना—

रथयात्रादिने तस्मिन् विभवे सति कारयेत् ।
रथारूढप्रतिकृतिं गंगायास्तूत्तरामुखा (खी) म् ।
भ्रमन्त्या दर्शनं लोके दुर्लभं पापकर्मणाम् ॥ उ. ४३।५७

३४. गंगाविष्णुशंभूमादिषु भेदो न कर्तव्यः—

यथा शिवस्तथा विष्णुर्यथा विष्णुस्तथा ह्युमा ।
उमा यथा तथा गंगा चात्र भेदो न विद्यते ॥
विष्णुरुद्रान्तरं यश्च गंगागौर्यन्तरं तथा ।
लक्ष्मीगौर्यन्तरं यश्च प्रब्रूते मूढधीस्तु सः ॥ उ. ४३।९२-९३

३५. पौराणिकी चतुर्विधा मुक्तिः ब्रह्मज्ञानसदृशं गयाश्राद्धादि—

ब्रह्मज्ञानं गयाश्राद्धं गोगृहे मरणं तथा ।
वासः पुंसां कुरुक्षेत्रे मुक्तिरेषा चतुर्विधा ॥ उ. ४४।२०

३६. काशीमरणवद्गयाश्राद्धादि मुक्तौ प्रयोजकमिति प्रतिभाति। अथवा मुक्तिरूपमेव पुराणवचनेष्वर्थवादरीत्या भिन्नार्थकरणे महादोषश्रुतेः। गयाश्राद्धे क्षेत्रिणे बीजिने च पित्रे पिण्डदानप्रसङ्गे आदौ क्षेत्रिणे ततो बीजिनेऽयं क्रमः

स्वरिणीजो ददौ चादौ क्षेत्रिणे बीजिने ततः ॥ उ. ४६।३६

३७. गयायां स्वात्मानमुद्दिश्यापि पिण्डो देयः स च स्वमरणानन्तरं स्वात्मानं प्राप्नोति—

एष पिण्डो मया दत्तस्तव हस्ते जनार्दन।
गयाश्राद्धे त्वया देयो मह्यं पिण्डो मृते मयि ॥ उ. ४७।६३

३८. एवं जीवद्भ्यो गयायां पिण्डदाने तेभ्यस्तेभ्यो मरणानन्तरं सपिण्डो जनार्दनेन दीयते—

तुभ्यं पिण्डो मया दत्तो यमुद्दिश्य जनार्दन।
देहि देव गयाशीर्षे तस्मै तस्मै मृते ततः ॥ उ. ४७।६४

३९. काश्यां पञ्चनदे माघमासे एकदिनस्नानकरणेन प्रयागे माघमासीयस्नानफलम्—

प्रयागे माघमासे तु सम्यक्स्नानस्य यत्फलम्।
तत्फलं स्याद्दिनैकेन काश्यां पञ्चनदे ध्रुवम् ॥ उ. ५०।१९

४०. काशीस्थत्रिस्रोतः प्रभृति नदीत्रयदर्शनेन ब्रह्महत्यानिवृत्तिर्भवति—

तिस्रो नद्यस्तु तत्रत्या वहन्ति च शुभोदकाः।

तासां स्थानादिकम्—

एका तु तत्र त्रिस्रोता तथा मन्दाकिनी परा।
मत्स्योदरी तृतीया च एतास्तिस्रस्तु पुण्यदाः ॥
मन्दाकिनी तत्र पुण्या मध्यमेश्वरसंस्थिता।
संस्थिता त्रिस्रोतिका च अविमुक्तेति पुण्यदा ॥
मत्स्योदरी तु ॐकारे पुण्यदा सर्वदैव हि ॥ उ. ५०।२८-३१

संप्रति विद्यमानान्येतानि तीर्थानि पूर्वं नदीस्वरूपाणि समासन्।

४१. के तीर्थयात्राया अधिकारिणः, के च नाधिकारिणः, तीर्थयात्राप्रसङ्गे कथं वर्तितव्यम्—

या तीर्थयात्रा कथिता मुनीन्द्रैः कृता प्रयुक्ता ह्यनुमोदिता च ।
तां ब्रह्मचारी विधिवत्करोति सुसंयुतो गुरुणा संनियुक्तः ॥
सर्वस्वनाशेऽप्यथवाल्पपक्षे स ब्राह्मणानग्रत एव कृत्वा ।
यत्राधिकारेऽप्यथ वा निवृत्ते विप्रस्तु तीर्थानि परिश्रमेच्च ॥
तीर्थेष्वलं यज्ञफलं हि यस्मात्प्रोक्तं मुनीन्द्रैरमलस्वभावैः ।
यस्येष्टियज्ञेष्वधिकारितास्ति वरं गृहं गृहधर्माश्च सर्वे ॥
एवं गृहस्थाश्रमसंस्थितस्य तीर्थे गतिः पूर्वतरैर्निषिद्धा ।
सर्वाणि तीर्थान्यपि चाग्निहोत्रतुल्यानि नैवेति वदन्ति केचित् ॥
यो यः कश्चित्तीर्थयात्रां तु गच्छेत्सुसंयतः स च पूर्वं गृहेषु ।
कृतावासः शुचिरप्रमत्तः संपूजयेद्भक्तिनम्रो गणेशम् ॥
देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणांश्चैव साधून् धीमान् विप्रो वित्तशक्त्या प्रयत्नात् ।
प्रत्यागतश्चापि पुनस्तथैव देवान् पितॄन् ब्राह्मणान् पूजयेच्च ॥
उ. ६२।२०-२५।

४२. यानमारुह्य तीर्थयात्रा न कर्तव्या—

ऐश्वर्यलोभमोहाद्वा गच्छेद्यानेन यो नरः ।
निष्फलं तस्य तत्तीर्थं तस्माद्यानं विवर्जयेत् ॥
गोयाने गोवधः प्रोक्तो हययाने तु निष्फलम् ॥
नरयाने तदर्द्धं स्यात्पद्भ्यां तच्च चतुर्गुणम् ॥ उ. ६२।३३-३४
नरयानमारुह्य गमने विध्युक्तफलमर्द्धं प्राप्यते, पद्भ्यां गमने तु
चतुर्गुणं फलम् ।

४३. तीर्थयात्रायां विशेषसमये दण्डच्छत्रोपानद्युक्तो यात्रां कुर्यात्—

वर्षातपादिके छत्री दण्डी शर्करकण्टके ।
शरीरत्राणकामोऽसौ सोपानत्कः सदा व्रजेत् ॥ उ. ६२।३५

४४. तीर्थे पिण्डदातव्यम्—सक्तुभिः पिण्डदानं च संयावैः पायसेन वा ।
बदरामलकैर्वापि पिण्याकैर्वा सुलोचने ! ॥ मोहिनि !
श्राद्धं तु तत्र कर्तव्यमर्चावाहनवर्जितम् ॥ उ. ६२।३९-४०
अन्यत्रार्चानिषेधो नास्ति । "अर्घ्यमावाहनं चैव"
इत्यनेनार्घ्यस्य निषेधात्

४५. गंगायमुनयोः समानार्हत्वं केवलज्येष्ठभावेन गंगा सर्वत्र पूज्यते—

गंगा च यमुना चैव उभे तुल्यफले स्मृते ।
केवलं ज्येष्ठभावेन गंगा सर्वत्र पूज्यते ॥ उ. ६२।१६७

४६. अरुणोदये स्थिता दशमी एकादशीं विध्यति परन्तु स वेधः श्रौतान् प्रति विद्यते-अन्यच्च वेधादिकं समानम्, निशीथवेधो वीरवैष्णवान् प्रति समस्ति—

स्मार्तान् सूर्योदयं प्राप्य श्रौतानप्यरुणोदयम् ।
निशीथं वैष्णवान्विप्राः प्राप्य दूषयते व्रतान् ॥
मोहिनी वेधरहितामुपोष्यैकादशीं नरः ॥
द्वादश्यां विष्णुमभ्यर्च्य वैकुण्ठं यात्यसंशयम् ॥ उ. ८२।२३-२४

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THE SHORTER KŪRMA-VIBHĀGA TEXTS OF THE PURĀṆAS

By

C. A. Lewis

[पुराणेषु अन्येषु च ग्रन्थेषु भारतवर्षीयभूगोलवर्णनप्रसङ्गे भारतवर्षस्य कूर्मरूपेण कल्पना—भारतवर्षस्य विभिन्नप्रदेशानामवस्थितिः कूर्मस्यास्य विभिन्नाङ्गेषु निर्दिष्टा वर्तते । अयं कूर्मस्तु प्राक्शिरा वर्तते । तस्य मध्यभागे मध्यदेशस्यावस्थितिः, अग्निमदक्षिणपादे पूर्वदक्षिणदेशस्य, दक्षिणपार्श्वे दक्षिणदेशस्य, पश्चाद्दक्षिणपादे दक्षिणपश्चिमदेशस्य, पुच्छभागे पश्चिमदेशस्य, पश्चाद्वामपादे पश्चिमोत्तरदेशस्य, वामपार्श्वे उत्तरदेशस्य अग्रिमवामपादे पूर्वोत्तरदेशस्य च अवस्थितिः वर्णिता वर्तते । कूर्मविभागवर्णनं द्विविधं वर्तते—लघुविभागः बृहद्विभागश्च । लघुविभागः अथर्ववरिशिष्टे, गरुडपुराणे, विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे चोपलभ्यते । बृहद्विभागस्तु बृहत्संहितायां मार्कण्डेयपुराणे पराशरतन्त्रे चोपलभ्यते । अत्र लघुविभागस्यैव विवेचनं कृतम् । अथर्ववरिशिष्टस्य वर्णनं पुराणैः सह किञ्चिद् वैभिन्न्यं भजते । अस्मिन् कूर्मविभागवर्णने दृश्यते यत् दक्षिणदेशीयेषु जनपदेषु विन्ध्यवासिनामेव वर्णनमस्ति । अतः तस्मिन् काले विन्ध्यात् परं वर्तमानानां देशानां परिचयो नासीदार्याणामिति मतम् लेखकमहोदयस्य वर्तते । अत्र कूर्मविभागे निर्दिष्टानां जनपदानां जातीनां च प्रमाणपुरस्सरं अवस्थितिः आलोचिता, एतत्प्रकरणात्मकस्य पुराणांशस्य पाठविषयेऽपि विमर्शः कृतो वर्तते ।]

The conception of Bhāratavarṣa as a tortoise, in which the various countries are said to rest on specific parts of its body, is a well-known theme of ancient Indian geography. Each of the different parts of the animal, whose head faced towards the Bay of Bengal, and whose centre comprised Madhyadeśa, represented a different direction of which there were nine altogether. These may be listed as follows :

1. The middle = Madhyadesa.
2. The head = East.
3. The right forefoot = South-East.
4. The right side = South.

5. The right hind foot = South-West.
6. The tail = West.
7. The left hind foot = North-West.
8. The left side = North.
9. The left forefoot = North-East.

The Kūrma-vibhāga texts occur in two types of list, the longer and the shorter; the former are to be found in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā of Varāhamihira, the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa and the Parāśaratantra, while the latter occur in the Pariśiṣṭa to the Atharvaveda, the Garuḍa-purāṇa, and the Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa. In the present article it is proposed only to deal with the shorter Kūrma-vibhāga texts. Though the Pariśiṣṭa texts follows the same framework as the shorter purāṇic lists, there is clearly no connection between the two. Moreover its Madhyadeśa is placed somewhat further to the south than is the case of the purāṇic texts and hence corresponds much more closely to the true geographical centre of India. Again while the Pariśiṣṭa extends its Madhyadeśa considerably eastwards to include Kāśī, Kosala, Mithilā etc., the purāṇic texts specifically exclude them from Madhyadeśa by making them parts of its eastern division.

The most interesting aspect of the shorter purāṇic texts, with which this article will now exclusively deal, is the fact that they mention as "southern" tribes, peoples who actually lived in the Vindhyas. Hence the inference would be that the conception of tortoise geography originated at a time when the Aryans had little or no acquaintance with the far south of India. To them the Vindhyas represented the southernmost region of which they had any detailed knowledge and so their southern list is really a Vindhya list. If one accepts this theory, then the tortoise shape does not seem as absurd as it is generally thought. If the Vindhyas represented the southernmost point of knowledge the Aryans had of Bhāratavarṣa, then the whole area north of them may be perhaps roughly compared to the shape of a tortoise.

Let us now proceed to a detailed analysis of these texts. That of the Garuḍa-purāṇa will be employed, while the variants of the Viṣṇudharmottara will be added. Any textual difficulty

that might arise, will be discussed, and then the peoples mentioned in the lists briefly identified to prove the correctness of their location within the region.

Pāñcālāḥ Kuravo Matsyā Yaudheyāḥ saPaṭaccarāḥ /
Kuntayaḥ Śūrasenāś ca madhyadeśajanāḥ smṛtāḥ //

The Vdh. P. has exactly the same text except due to a copyist's error it has Vaṭaccarāḥ for Paṭaccarāḥ. This text is interesting in that the Yaudheyas, Paṭaccaras, and Kuntis are not mentioned in the longer Kūrma-vibhāga text as peoples of Madhyadeśa, though the Yaudheyas are mentioned as a northern people by the latter (BS. XIV. 28 ; Mārk. P. 58, 47). The interesting hypothesis raised by this change of location will be discussed below where their identification with modern localities will be established to confirm their location in Madhyadeśa.

Pāñcāla. This was divided into two divisions by the Bhāgīrathī (Ganges). The capital of north Pāñcāla was Ahichattra (mod. Ramnagar) and of south Pāñcāla Kāmpilya (mod. Kampil). Its territory corresponded to mod. Farukhabad district.

Kuru. Ancient Kurukṣetra, the home of Brahmanical civilisation. Situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and the Dṛṣadvatī on the south, it accordingly corresponds to modern Thaneswar.

Matsya. Modern Jaipur. Capital Vairāṭanagara (mod. Bairat, 100 miles S-W of Delhi and 40 miles N. of Jaipur).

Yaudheya. The inclusion of this tribe in Madhyadeśa is most interesting, as the longer Kūrma-vibhāga texts place them in the northern region. The Purāṇas do not include them in their Bhuvanakośa texts. According to numismatic evidence a mint of their coins inscribed "Yaudheyānāṃ Bahudhānyake" and dated to the second century B. C. has been found near Rohitaka (mod. Rohtak). (I. H. Q. XXVII (1951). p. 197 ff). Bahudhānyaka may therefore be identified with the Hariana district of the Punjab. Their

descendants may be traced in the modern Johiya Rajputs on the banks of the Sutlej.

Paṭaccara. They have also been mentioned as a tribe of Madhyadeśa by the Bhuvanakośa texts of the Purāṇas. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 150) identifies it with a portion of Banda district, but Agrawala's suggestion (India as known to Pāṇini, p. 62) that it should be equated with modern Pataudi seems far more likely in view of its association in the present text with the Yaudheyas.

Kunti. According to the Mahābhārata (3.292.25) they are to be located on the bank of a small river called the Aśvanadī or Aśvarathanadī, which flows into the Carmaṇvatī (mod. Chambal). This position is confirmed by the account of Sahadeva's digvijaya (M.B. 2. 28. 6), in which it is stated that Sahadeva overcame the Kuntibhojas before reaching the banks of the Carmaṇvatī.

Śūrasena. Capital Mathurā, mod. Maholi, five miles S-W of modern Mathurā.

V ṣadhvajajanāḥ padmāḥ sūtamāgadhacedayaḥ /
Kāśayaś ca videhāś ca pūrvasyāṃ Kośalās tathā //

The Vdh. P. has panna for padma; suhma for sūta, and añjana for jana. A comparative study of the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts show the correct readings to be Añjana, Padma, and Suhma. Kirfel (Bhāratavarsha, p. 24), who does not appear to notice the connection between the shorter and longer texts, wrongly retains jana for Añjana. As a result of the comparison of the two lists, the text may accordingly be restored as follows :

Vṛṣadhvajāñjanāḥ padmāḥ suhmamāgadhacedayaḥ /
Kāśayaś ca videhāś ca pūrvasyāṃ kośalās tathā //

It only remains now to identify these tribes and confirm their location in Pūrvadeśa.

Añjana. A mountain of the same name is mentioned in the gaṇapāṭha to Pāṇini (V. 3. 117). Both Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 8) and Law (Geog. Dict. p. 65) identify it

with the Suleiman range in the Punjab, but this identification cannot be valid in the present instance.

Vṛṣadhvaja. I have been unable to trace any identification for this name and would be grateful for any suggestion which may be proposed.

Padma. Dey (Geog. Dict. p. 123) mentions a Padmagiri, which he equates with Sravana Belgola, a town in Hassan district, Mysore. This cannot possibly be the same as the Padma of the present texts for its location is too far south. The Bhaviṣyapurāṇa (Indian Culture. v. 8 (1941) p. 57) mentions a river Padmā as one of the boundaries of Gauḍa, and with this the Padmas may be connected.

Suhma. Mod. Hooghly, Howrah and Burdwan districts of Bengal, as well as parts of Midnapur.

Māgadha. Patna and Gaya districts. Capitals Girivraja (Rajgir) and later Pāṭliputra (Patna).

Cedi. The longer Kūrma-vibhāga locates them in the south-east. Its capital (Śuktimatī) on the river of the same name (mod. Ken. MB.3.23.47; 1.57.32) may be located near Banda. It roughly comprised the modern Bundelkhand region S-E of the Jumna from its junction with the Chambal (I.H.Q.27 (1951) p. 250).

Kāśī. Modern Benares.

Videha. Modern Tirhut district with its capital Mithilā at Janakpur in Nepal.

Kośala Evidently Uttara-Kośala, whose capital was Śrāvastī (modern Sahet-Mahet in Oudh).

Kaliṅga-vaṅga-puṇḍrāṅgā *vidarbhā* mūlkās tathā /
Vindhyāntanilayāḥ proktāh pūrvadakṣiṇataḥ... //

The Vdh. P. has an identical text, and the tribes are so well-known in Indian geographical literature as scarcely to merit identification. The Aṅgas,

Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas are frequently associated together in the Mahābhārata, a point that indicates their close geographical and ethnic association in the minds of the Aryans.

Kalinga. Modern Orissa.

Vaṅga One of the most important tribes in eastern India, as is shown by the fact that their name came to denote the whole province of Bengal. In epic and purāṇic texts they occupied the eastern section of the province towards the Ganges delta. Pargiter (J.A.S.B. 1897 p. 85) located them in the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, and parts of Rajshahi and Faridpur.

Puṇḍra. Modern Dinajpur, Rungpur and Bogra districts. Its capital, Puṇḍravardhana, is identified by Cunningham (Ancient Geog. of India (1871 ed.) p. 480) with modern Mahasthana, 7 miles north of Bogra.

Aṅga. Modern Bhagalpur district extending northwards to the Kosī river. Capital : Campā.

Vaidarbha. Modern Berar. Capitals Kuṇḍina (mod. Kundinyapura on the Wardha in Amraoti district) and later Bhojakaṭa (mod. Bhojapura, 6 miles S-E of Bhilsa).

Mūlaka. In the Vāyupurāṇa (88.177-8) this tribe is closely associated with the well-known Aśmakas. The present text however is very interesting as it sharply distinguishes between the two, locating the Mūlakas in the south-east and the Aśmakas in the south. According to Buddhist tradition the Godāvarī formed the boundary between them (Law, Geography of early Buddhism p. 21).

Pulindāśmaka-jīmūta-navarāṣṭranivāsinaḥ /
Karṇāṭa-kāmboja-ghāṭā dakṣināpathavāsinaḥ //

The Vdh. P. in place of Karṇāta-kāmboja-ghāṭā reads Karṇātakā bhojakaṭā, which is clearly the correct text as

Kāmboja is well known as the name of a northern tribe and would be completely out of place here. This passage presents a most interesting example of how textual corruption can occur. The final ka suffix of Karṇāṭakā has somehow been transferred to being a prefix of the following name which becomes Kābhoja and at once suggests the well known Kāmbojas. The final part of the word Kaṭa is changed to Ghāṭā and is made the name of a "separate" people. Of the names enumerated only one, Karṇāṭa, is included in the same division by the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts. None of the other names are even mentioned, though with the exception of the Jīmūtas all are well known. The reason for their omission lies perhaps in the fact that in the early period of tortoise geography they had a special importance as "frontier" tribes; when however the Aryan knowledge of South India increased, they may have lost their significance and so been dropped from the list.

It remains now to identify these tribes and confirm their location in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Pulinda. The antiquity of this tribe is attested by their mention in the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa (VII.18.2), which locates them in the Vindhyas along with the Śabaras and Āndhras. According to Law (Geog. Dict. of India, p. 184), their capital, Pulindanagar is to be located near Bhilsa. Ptolemy (VII.1.64) refers to them as Polindoi Agriophagoi.

Aśmaka. Located by the Suttanipāta (P.T.S. p. 190) on the bank of the Godavari immediately south of Patiṭṭhāna (Skt. Pratiṣṭhāna, mod. Paithan).

Jīmūta. This tribe, so far as I am aware, has not been identified.

Navarāṣṭra. This tribe is definitely located near the bank of the Chambal by the digvijaya of Sahadeva in the Mahābhārata (MB. 2.28.6). Dey's identification of it with the Neogramma of Ptolemy (VII. 1.61) is inaccurate as the later city is situated on the Indus

Karṇāṭaka. Modern Kanarese speaking area centred around Mysore.

Bhojakaṭa. According to the purāṇic tradition the Bhojas were a branch of Yādavas who founded the kingdom of Vidarbha. Bhojakaṭa is mentioned in the Chammak copperplate inscription of Pravarasena III and may thus be regarded as including the Elichpur district of Berar and the area of Chammak four miles to its south-west. It has also been identified with Bhatkulī in Amroati district. (C. L. I. III, no. 55 ; line 18 ; I. A. 1923, p. 262).

Ambaṣṭha-Draviḍa-Lāṭāḥ Kāmbhoja-Strīmukhāḥ Śakāḥ /
Ānartavāsinaś caiva jñeyā dakṣiṇapaścime //

The Vdh. P. has an identical list except that it substitutes Nāga for Lāṭa and Ananta for Ānarta. Both these forms can be dismissed as copyists' errors. It accordingly remains to identify briefly these names and confirm their location in the south-western division.

Ambaṣṭha. This tribe is clearly to be identified with those of the Mahābhārata, where they are associated with the Śibis and Trigartas (MB. 2.29.6. ; 2.48.14 ; 6.18.13 etc.). They are well known in classical writers as one of the tribes conquered by Alexander the Great and are located by them on the lower Akesines (mod. Chenab). They are the Sabarcae of Curtius (IX, 8), the Sambastai of Diodorus (17, 102), and the Abastanoi of Arrian (Anab. VI. 15).

Drāviḍa. This well-known name appears out of place here. In the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas it is generally associated with the tribes of the extreme south. Kern however, considers that a branch originally existed in Baluchistan and accordingly identifies them with the Brahui tribe who are said to belong to Dravidian stock. It is possible that their inclusion in the present division is due to "editing" on the part of copyists. Rājaśekhara (Kāvya-mimāṃsā

p. 93) mentions a country called Travaṇa in the western region and associates it with Surāṣṭra. Such a name, if little known, as would seem likely as I have been unable to trace it elsewhere, may well have been "corrected" by copyists as Drāviḍa.

Lāṭa. This name is identical with the Larike of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 4.) and is usually identified with central Gujarat around Baroach between the Mahī and Tāptī rivers. Larike is generally regarded as a Greek transcription of a Prakrit from Lāṭika (Lassen, Ind. Alt. (2. ed.) I. p. 137), which is derived from Sanskrit Rāṣṭrika, a form that occurs in Aśoka's edicts.

Kāmboja. Though a janapada of considerable importance and antiquity, being mentioned in the Nirukta of Yāska, its exact location has been the subject of much controversy among scholars. According to Ray Chaudhuri (L'iconographie Bouddhique p. 134), who relies on the evidence of the Karṇaparva of the Mahābhārata (7. 4. 4.), Rājapura (mod. Rajauri) is contiguous to Kāmboja. Accordingly he locates it in the present Chitral and Hazara districts. This view is however refuted by Jayacandra (Bhāratabhūmi aur uske nivāsī pp. 297-305), who identifies Kāmboja with modern Kafiristan on the evidence of the Rājatarañgiṇī (IV. 163 ff.), which states that Lalitāditya of Kashmir (625-732 A. D.), on entering the northern district, defeated the Kāmbojas, and then marched against the Bhauttas. As the location of the latter in Baltistan is certain, Kāmboja is to be located in Kafiristan.

Strīmukha. This tribe must be identical with the Nārīmukhas of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (XIV, 17) and the Vaṇitāmukhas of the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (58.30). According to Alberuni (ed. Sachau, 1. p. 302) they are to be identified with the Turks.

Śaka. Modern Seistan.

Anarta. Modern Kathiawar or northern Gujarat, though there is some controversy as to their actual position. Some locate them in the region of Kuśasthalī (mod. Dwarka), while others place them in the vicinity of Ānarttapura, later called Ānandapura (mod. Vadnagar).

Strīrājyāḥ Saindhavā Mlecchā Nāstikā Yavanās tathā /
paścimena ca vijñeyā Mathurā Naiṣadhaiḥ saha //

The Vdh. P. reads the same text except in place of Mathurā Naiṣadhaiḥ, it has patumān auṣadhaiḥ, which is clearly corrupt. Mathurā is an extremely good example of how names were corrupted and subsequently "corrected" to other names. The original reading for Mathurā, which can only be placed in the Madhyadeśa region, was almost certainly Ramaṭha; this by an orthographical confusion was changed to Maṭhura, and this form induced another later editor to substitute the well-known Mathurā. It remains to identify these tribes and establish their location in the western division.

Strīrājya. This tribe is mentioned in the Mahābhārata as a N-W people along with the Taṅgaṇas (MB. 3.48.21). It is also mentioned by Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra (2.5.27; 2.6.43), whose commentator paraphrases it as Strīpurī and locates it west of Vrajavanta or Vangarakta, information that does not help us as the identity of the latter place is also unknown. According to Dey it is to be identified in the area of Garhwal and Kumaun.

Saindhava. According to Alberuni (ed. Sachau I, p. 260), the upper course of the Indus above its junction with the Chenab was called Sindhu. Hence the Saindhavas may be located on its banks.

Nāstika. This name is clearly identical with the people described in the corresponding section of the Parāśara as "tyaktadharma".

Yavana. Possibly a general reference to the Graeco-Bactrian of N-W India.

Ramaṭha. A low and barbarous tribe according to the Mahābhārata (MB. 12.65.14). Ptolemy refers to them as Rhamnai. Levi (J. A. 1915 p. 112) would locate them near Ghazni on the evidence of the Mahābhārata (3.48.21) and the Mahāmāyūrī (line 99).

Naiṣadha. This tribe is clearly out of place here as it has been mentioned in the Purāṇas as a Vindhya country and has been located by the longer Kūrmavibhāga in the S-E. It is perhaps an error for Niṣāda, a branch of which is mentioned in the Mahābhārata (3.130.4.), which states that the place where the Sarasvatī disappeared was the gateway to the country of the Niṣādas.

Māṇḍavyāś ca Tuṣārāś ca Mūlikāś ca Mūṣāḥ Khaśāḥ /
Mahākeśā Mahānādā deśās tūttarāpaścime //

The Vdh. P. has the same text except that it reads Mukha for Mūṣa and correctly Mahānāsa for Mahānāda. Mūlika cannot possibly be the correct reading here as it is to be located on the Godāvarī; it may however be easily amended to Cūlika, which has been placed in the N-W by the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts. With regard to the form Mūṣa or Mukha, this may be combined with the preceding as ca to produce the form Aśvamukha, which the longer texts place in the North. Thus Mūlikāś ca Mukha may be amended to Cūlikāśvamukha.

It now remains to identify briefly the above mentioned tribes.

Māṇḍavya. This name occurs not less than three times in the longer Kūrmavibhāga texts, where it is mentioned in the Madhyadeśa, Northern and North West lists. The Māṇḍavyas in the central region are variously located at Modern Mandawar, eight miles north of Bijnor (J.U.P.H.S. XV pt. II (1942) p. 43) and at Mandor near Jodhpur on the evidence of inscriptions (E.I. XVIII, p. 95 cf. The Jodhpur Inscription of

Pratihāra Bauka verse 10 "māṇḍavyapuradurge's-min") The Māṇḍavyas of the North and North-West have not been identified however.

Tuṣāra. According to Stein (Rājataraṅgiṇī I, p. 136) they are to be located in the Upper Oxus valley.

Cūlika. According to the Matsya-purāṇa (121.45) the Vakṣu (Oxus) flowed through their territory.

Khaśa. Modern Khakkhas to the west of Nepal.

The Aśvamukhas, Mahākeśas and Mahānāsas cannot be precisely identified. In the case of ill-known tribes with whom the Aryans would have little contact, one may expect differentiation to be made among them on the basis of physical characteristics.

Garuḍa P. Lampakās Tananāgāś ca Madra-Gāndhāra-bāhlikāḥ /
Himācalālayā mlecchā udīcīm diśam āśritāḥ //

Vdh. P. Lampagās Tālanāgāś ca Maru-Gāndhāra-Jāhutāh /
Himavannilayā mlecchā hy udīcīm diśam āśritāh //

There is somewhat more variation between the two texts than has previously been the case. The inaccuracy of Maru in the Vdh.P. text is proved not only by the corresponding text of the Garuḍa P. but also by the internal evidence of the Vdh.P. itself. At the end of its list of peoples, it gives the name of the country which is considered to represent the region as a whole. For the N-W region Madra is given. There is also a discrepancy between the Bāhlikas of the Garuḍa P. and the Jāhutas of the Vdh.P. The latter name appears to be a corruption of Jāguḍa, which is similarly located in the north by the Bhuvanakośa texts Bāhlika is a well-known name, but here is perhaps the result of a copyist's effort to correct a corrupted portion of the text. The Tālanāgas are identical with the Talagāṇas of the purāṇas, which similarly locate them in the northern division along with the Lampakas. Dey wrongly divides the text as Lampāka-Stana-Nāga and identifies the middle name with Kustana i. e. Khotan in East Turkestan, thereby inventing a country that does not exist.

Lampaka. The Lambatai of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 42) who locates them near the sources of the Koa (Kabul) river.

Their name is preserved in modern Lamghan, a territory on the north bank of the Koa (Kabul)

Talagāṇa. The location of this tribe is uncertain, but it be somewhere near Lamghan in view of its juxtaposition with Lampaka in both the Bhu kośa and Kūrmavibhāga texts.

Madra. The capital of the Madras was Śākala, first i fied by Cunningham (A. G I. 1871 ed., p. 180) Sanglawala Tiba in the Jhang district of the Pu but subsequently proved by Fleet to be Sialkot.

Gāndhāra. A country of considerable antiquity, being l from Vedic times (RV. I 126.7). The Greeks it as Gandaridai or Gandarites (Ptolemy, VII. Herodutus 3. 91). It is to be identified wit modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar districts.

Jāguḍa. According to the Matsyapurāṇa (121.45) the flowed through its territory. Levi (J.A. 1915, p would identify it with modern Ghazni.

Garuḍa P. Trigarta-Nīla-Kolābha-Brahmaputrāḥ sa-Taṅkaṇ Abhiṣāhāḥ sa-Kāśmīrā udakpūrveṇa kīrtitāḥ //

Vdh. P. Trigarta-Mīna-Kaulūta-Brahmaputrāḥ sa-Tīgaṇā Abhisārāś ca Kāśmīrāś codakpūrveṇa kīrtitāḥ //

The two texts serve to correct each other's mist Garuḍa P. Tankana corrects VdhP. Tīgana, while the la Kaulūta corrects the former's Kolābha. Both wrongly Brahmaputra, which, as the corresponding section of the K Kūrmavibhāga text shows, must be corrected to Brahma The choice between Garuḍa P. Nīla and Vdh.P. Mīna is uncer If Nīla is accepted as the correct reading, it would probab identical with the Nīlaparvata of the Uttara Kurus, whi identified with the Kuenlun range in Tibet. A comparisc the longer and shorter Kūrmavibhāga texts however sug that both Nīla and Mīna may be corrupt and that the co reading should be Cīna.

Trigarta. Modern Jalandhar district between the Ravi Sutlej.

Cīna. If this reading is adopted, the Cīnas may be identified with the tribes of Chinese origin who lived on the northern slopes of the Himalayas.

Kaulūta. The inhabitants of the district of Kulu in the upper valley of the river Beas.

Brahmapura. According to Watters (On Yuan Chang I, p. 329) this name is to be equated with the Po-lo-lih-mo-pulo of Hiuen Tsiang, whose evidence indicates that it must be placed in the region of Kumaon and Garhwal. Cunningham (A.G.I. (1871ed.) p. 355) identifies it more specifically with the area between the Alakananda and Karnali rivers.

Taṅkana. The Tanganoi of Ptolemy, they may be located in the mountainous regions extending from the Ramganga to the Upper Sarayu.

Abhīsāra. The Abhīsāras were a well known tribe to the Greek historians and the Mahābhārata, where they are frequently associated with the Dārvas (MB. 6. 10. 52 ; 2. 24. 18 etc.). At the time of Alexander's invasion they allied themselves with the Pauravas against the Greeks. Their exact location is however disputed. McCrindle (Alexander's Invasion, p. 69) places them at Hazara, but Stein (Rājatarañgiṇī I p. 32) identifies them with the tract of hills between the Jhelum and Chenab including the state of Rājapurī (mod. Rajauri).

Kāśmīra. Modern Kashmir.

With the survey of the peoples of the North-East Division completed, our examination of the shorter Kūrma-vibhāga texts of the purāṇas comes to an end. On the whole they are somewhat disappointing as a source for ancient Indian geography, as the majority of names are already well known from other sources. However, as no systematic examination of them has occurred elsewhere, so far as the author has been able to discover, it may not be without profit that their contents should have been tabulated.

ŚAIVISM IN THE PĀTĀLA KHAṆḌA OF THE PADMA-PURĀṆA

By

ASOKE CHATTERJEE

[पुराणेषु शैवतत्त्वानामपि वर्णनं प्राप्यते। अत्र पद्मपुराणान्तर्गत-पातालखण्डे प्रतिपादितस्य शैवतत्त्वस्य विवेचनं प्रस्तूयते। पातालखण्डस्य पूर्वार्धे रामचरित्रस्य उत्तरार्धे च शैवतत्त्वस्य विशेषतः शिवलिङ्गस्य वर्णनं विद्यते। लेखकमहोदयेन अत्र स्थापितं यत् रामचरित्रवर्णनात्मकः पूर्वार्धे एव प्राचीनो मूलभागो विद्यते। शिवतत्त्ववर्णनात्मक उत्तर-भागस्तु परवर्तिनि काले शैवमतानुयायिभिः संयोजित इति। उत्तर-भागे शिवपूजा लिङ्गार्चनादिवर्णनं च विद्यते। अत्र शैवैः सप्रयासमिदं स्थापयितुं चेष्टितं यत् शिव एव प्रधानो देवः। विष्णोरवतारभूतेन रामेण स्वयं विष्णुनाच्च कृता शिवपूजाऽत्र वर्णिता वर्त्तते येन शैवैः विष्णोरप्रधानत्वं द्योतयितुं चेष्टितम्।]

The fact cannot be denied that the philosophy of Śaivism was developed from the Śatarudriya portion of the Yajurveda. The propagators of Śaivism gathered momentum thereon and gradually they were credited with a number of works of their own which were the best channels to spread out their views and belief. A large number of purāṇas which were regarded as the Rājasika-purāṇas are said to have been cropped up from the pen of those Śaiva-philosophers. Their philosophy attained complexity gradually and in the later purāṇas especially in the Skanda and the Śiva-purāṇas their unhesitating zeal to propagate their philosophy without any critical acumen is found. The Padma purāṇa which is admittedly a Vaiṣṇava-mahāpurāṇa betrays here and there its acknowledgement to the Śiva tattva and Śaiva philosophy. This Padma-purāṇa, as we have it now, is a voluminous work consisting of extensive parts called Khaṇḍas which are five in number in the Bengal recension, viz. Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa, Bhūmi-Khaṇḍa, Svarga-Khaṇḍa, Pātāla-Khaṇḍa and Uttara-Khaṇḍa. In the South Indian (or rather Devanāgarī)

recension, which has been published by the Ānandāśrama Press, Veṅkaṭeśvara Press and others, this work is found to have six Khaṇḍas.[1] It was originally a Brahmaite one, i. e. the contribution of the Brahmā sects but later on the two other major sects, the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava took this up right earnestly tried to pass it as their own by means of additions and omissions. The name of one of the part of the Padma-purāṇa is Pātāla-khaṇḍa. We would like to deal with in this paper the aspects of Śaiva philosophy as found in the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa.

It is now known that the original portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa was the contribution of the Rāmaites. On an examination it is found that the original portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Rāmaites describes primarily the later portion of Rāma's story which begins from his victory at Laṅkā and return from there to Ayodhyā after placing Vibhīṣaṇa on the throne and extends upto the end of his Aśvamedha sacrifice on (if we take the evidence of the Bengal manuscripts of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa) upto the end of his life. In one place[2] it speaks of the six divisions of the Rāmāyaṇa, viz. Bāla, Āraṇyaka, Kiṣkindhā, Sundara, Yuddha and Uttara and gives a very brief summary of the contents of each Kāṇḍa. It is to be noted here that although it does not mention the name of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa, its summary of contents of the Bāla-kāṇḍa from Daśaratha's Puttreṣṭi sacrifice down to Rāma's advent to citrakūṭa with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa, his refusal to go back to them even though entreated by Bharata and his abode at Nandigrāma includes the contents of the Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa also. The information about the number of ślokas of the Rāmāyaṇa is also given in it.[3] Thus, we see that this portion was purely Ramaite. But such copies of Rāma and their portrayal in it do not constitute the essence of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. On the other hand as is the case with most of the Purāṇas, this Rāmaite influence on the Pātāla-khaṇḍa did

1. See my article "The Antiquity and origin of the Padma-purāṇa and its early character and position in the Purāṇic literature". Our Heritage (Bulletin of the Post Graduate training and Research Departement—Sanskrit College, Calcutta) Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 175-189.
2. Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66, 163-168.
3. "Caturviṃsatisāhasram ṣaṭ kāṇḍa paricihnitam" Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 66, 183a.

not find favour with the supporters of the other sect who in their spirit of adherence to their particular sect, tried to replace the whole of the latter half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa by fanciful glorifications of Liṅga and Śiva who were, according to them, much superior to Rāma who often bowed down to the Great Omniscient and Omnipotent Lord Śiva. It is interesting to note that the first half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa (which ended in ch. 68 from the beginning of the Anss. edition of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of tho Padma-P.) was left untouched by the staunch Śiva worshippers who perhaps did not venture to replace it on account of its growing popularity among the people. It is also possible that the original portions (by which we mean those portions which were written by the Rāmaites) actually ended with the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Rāma (Ch. 68) or with the passing of Rāma to heaven.[4] Thus, the Liṅga-worshippers may not have altered the portion of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa following chap. 68 but added some new chapters of their own interest to the then recognised Pātāla-khaṇḍa as its latter half. It is evident that if a portion ends with Rāma's passing to heaven, it is self-contained and complete and needs no further additions, that this portion was spurious and superflous is further proved by the Bengal manuscripts which do not contain a single line of these. In their zeal to propagate their view-points the Liṅga worshippers wrote some chapters and added these to the Pātāla-khaṇḍa in such a hopeless way that the spuriousness of these latter chapters is clearly manifest. The following lines of this latter half show the complete dissociation of this half with the first half of the Rāmaites. It says that once Śaṅkara came to Ayodhyā to meet Rāma. The latter, after due reception and worship of Śaṅkara, asked Him to tell him about some Māhātmyas. He said "The method of worshipping a liṅga; the glorifications of the same; praise of (uttering) the name of Maheśa and of worshipping, saluting and seeing him; priase of giving water, offering incense, lamps,

4. The account of Rāma's passing to heaven is not found in any of the printed editions of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa, but it is preserved in the Bengal Mss. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa which give it in their first twenty-eight chapters.

scents, etc., glorification of flowers; sanctifying narration of various anecdotes and historic tales; (discourses on) Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mokṣa, and the ways of attaining them :—all these I wish to hear from you 0 ! Greatest of the great sages and one of celebrated vow"[5]. But besides these, this half deals with many other topics of interest such as bhaṣma-māhātmya etc. which have been introduced here and there in this half of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. Here the sole endeavour of the liṅga-worshippers is confined to showing greatness of Śiva—His greater power than that of Rāma or Viṣṇu. It will be a matter of no mean interest to refer to some relevant verses to show how Rāma or Viṣṇu was much below the status of Śiva. While praising Śiva highly, Viṣṇu say "O Lord : I have devoutly worshipped you for a thousand years, daily with a thousand lotuses still you have not shown your feet to me."[6] While Śiva and Viṣṇu were engaged in mirthful water sport many a times Viṣṇu was drowned by Śiva who jumped up on the shoulders of Viṣṇu, caught his hands and made him sink[7]. It has been said that once while worshipping Śiva, Hari had offered his eyes to Him for want of flowers.[8] Once in the body of

5. 'liṅgārcana prakāraṃ ca liṅga māhātmyameva ca /
maheśanāma māhātmyaṃ pūjāmāhātmyameva ca //
namaskār asyamāhātmyaṃ dṛṣṭimāhātmyameva ca /
jaladānasya māhātmyaṃ dhūpadānasya sattama //
dīpagandhādidānasya puṣpamāhātmyameva ca /
nā-nā-khyānetihāsānāṃ kathāṃ pāpa-praṇāśinīm //
dharmārtha-kāmamokṣāṃśca tadupāyāṃśca suvrata /
tatsarvaṃ śrotumicchāmi tvatto munivarottama //
Ibid. 100. 23-26.

The verses from 23b-25a do not occur in the Vaṅga ed. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa. The Venkaṭ. ed. of the Pātāla-khaṇḍa possesses all the verses, see Veṅkaṭ. ed. 104. 23-26.

6. Ibid. 110, 187
'mayā varṣasahasraṃ tu sahasrābjais-tathānvaham /
bhaktyā sampūjito' pīśa pado na darśitas-tvayā' //

7. Ibid. 110. 151b-152.
'atrāntare hareḥ skandhamāruroha maheśvaraḥ /
haryuttamāngaṃ bāhubhyāṃ gṛhītvā sa nyamajjayat //
unmajjayitvā ca punaḥ punaścāpi punaḥ punaḥ /

8. Ibid. 106. 34b. 'puṣpābhāve harirnetram'.

Rāma there appeared a shadow of Maheśa—four armed and three-eyed.[9] After beautifully eulogising Śiva, Śrīviṣṇu fell down at the feet of Him.[10] Once Pārvatī rebuked Śiva. Hearing His blame, Viṣṇu who was present there was about to put an end to his life by tearing away his head with his nails as he did not like to live at a place where Śiva was decried; but he was prevented from doing so by Śiva himself.[11] In Ch. 112 vs. 181, Rāma glorifies Śiva in great respect. He recites fiftyseven names of Śiva (the name 'Śubhacarita' has been mentioned twice) in address and bows down to Him saying 'namaste' 'namaste'. It has been said that as Rāma was not conversant with the Purāṇas, he had invited Śiva to teach him the purāṇas but it is interesting to note that although Śiva has approached Rāma for an instruction of the Purāṇas still Rāma asks Him to tell him something about Liṅgārcanaprakāra etc.[12] and the māhātmyas of the Purāṇas although related, have been only of secondary importance. The Liṅga worshippers were so anxious to propagate their sectarian doctrines that they could not resist themselves from saying that it is Maheśvara, who is the speaker of the Padmapurāṇa and in it the characteristics of the Pramathas have been described.[13] Thus, they tried to convince the people that the whole of the Padma-purāṇa was originally a contribution of the Śaivaites. It is true that here and there stray references to the worship of Hari are not wanting[14] but these are very few and far between and deserve no serious attention.[15]

9. Ibid. 101. 111.
prativimbamatho gātre rāmasya samadṛśyata /
dṛṣṭvaiva vismitaṃ śambhuṃ caturvāhuṃ trilocanam //
10. Ibid. 101. 232b ityudīrya mahāviṣṇuḥ śivapād papāta ha for the glorification, see Ibid. 101. 191-232.
11. Ibid. 110. 267-270.
12. See, f. n. 6.
13. Pātāla-khaṇḍa 109.22.
purāṇaṃ padmam..maheśvareṇa kathitaṃ pramathākṛtivarṇanam//
14. See, e. g. Ibid., 110. 390.
'dhyānameva kṛte śreṣṭhaṃ tretāyāṃ yajñameva ca/
dvāpare arcanaṃ tiṣye dānaṃ ca harikīrtanam//
See also Ibid. 110. 430a etc.
15. Paper accepted in the All India Philosophical Congress, Ahmadabad, 1958.

PRAYĀGAMĀHĀTMYA—A STUDY

By

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[प्रयागवर्णनं तन्माहात्म्यवर्णनञ्च बहुषु पुराणेषु अन्येषु ग्रन्थेषु चोपलभ्यते। प्रयागविषये विद्वद्भिः काले-काले निबन्धा अपि लिखिताः। अत्र अस्मिन् निबन्धे मुख्यतः मत्स्यपुराणस्य आधारेण प्रयागविषयको विमर्शः कृतः। प्रयागस्तु तीर्थराजनाम्ना प्रथितोऽस्ति। तीर्थानां महत्त्वं प्राचीनभूगोलदृष्ट्या सांस्कृतिकदृष्ट्या च वर्तते। पुराणेषु वर्ण्यते यत् सर्वाणि तीर्थानि प्रयागे वसन्ति। अत्र प्रयागस्य महत्त्वं प्रस्तुतम्। प्रयागस्तु त्रिषु वरेण्येषु तीर्थेषु(त्रिस्थलीषु) अन्यतमो वर्तते अन्ये द्वे गयावाराणस्यौ। गंगायमुनयोर्मध्यवर्तिनी भूमिः पृथिव्या जघनमुच्यते। अत्र प्रयागस्य महत्त्वं प्रदर्श्य तीर्थयात्राया उपयोगित्वमपि प्रदर्शितम्। प्रयागसम्बन्धे एषा कथाऽपि वर्तते यत् प्रलयादनन्तरं यज्ञमयो विष्णुः प्रयागे वसति। प्रयागे च स्वतो मरणस्य अपि विधानं वर्तते। यद्यपि प्रयागादन्यत्र स्वतो मरणस्य निषेधो वर्तते किन्तु प्रयागे एतादृशस्य मरणस्य विधानं तद्द्वारा मुक्तेः प्राप्तणमपि च वर्ण्यते। प्रयागे श्राद्धस्यापि महत्त्वं निर्दिष्टं वर्तते तथा तीर्थयात्राया-मुपवासविधिरपि वर्णिता वर्तते। अस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे लेखकमहोदयेन केषाञ्चित् दार्शनिकविषयाणामपि महत्त्वं प्रदर्शितम्। अत्र प्रयागे केषाञ्चित् तीर्थानां साम्प्रतिकस्थितिरपि अवधारिता]

roductory :

The *tīrthamāhātmyas* are very important and useful for not y reconstructing the cultural history of India in general but) for that of local history in particular, but such a study is ıe done with great care and caution. Moreover, it is useful n the point of view of the study of place-names of sub-tīrthas .nd around the *tīrtha* under consideration. From these points view the Prayāgamāhātmya sheds a flood of light on the ;ious practices etc. and mentions several sub-tīrthas which) commanded veneration of pilgrims who visited them. The yāgamāhātmya is broadcast in several Purāṇas and other

works.[1] In this paper it is proposed to discuss it as found in the Matsyapurāṇa (=MP), especially because it (MP) is one of the older works of Purāṇic literature[2] and this tract on the Prayāga-māhātmya gains further in weightage, as Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa (1100–1130 A.D.)[3] an outstanding digest-writer quotes mostly from the MP in his treatment of the Prayāga-māhātmya.[4] Moreover, as Dr. V.S. Agrawala observes, "we know that Mathurā, Prayāga, Vārāṇasī, Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī were five great centres in the Gupta age, the first three of which were also far-famed religious centres in addition to their commercial and political importance. With reference to the Prayāga-māhātmya the topographical details given here are of importance".[5]

The MP devotes ten chapters i.e. 103–112[6] covering 261 stanzas in honour of the glory and greatness of Prayāga. According to the MP the Prayāgamāhātmya was narrated originally by Brahmā to the renowned sage Mārkaṇḍeya (104.1 ; 108.1 ; 109.1) who narrated it in turn to disconsolate Yudhiṣṭhira, while the latter pondered over the sad demise of Suyodhana and others in the epoch-making Bhārata war and the consequent restoration of the lost empire (103.1ff). In the MP Nandikeśvara narrates it, as it was done by Mārkaṇḍeya to Yudhiṣṭhira (103.1 ab).

Derivation of the Word Prayāga

The word *Prayāga* is derived from pra-yaj. The MP appears to emphasise on the prefix pra–, when it states that "it predominates over all places on account of (its) supernatural power or efficacy[6a]". The explanation of the componental part-yāga (yaj) appears to be given, when it states that gods and sovereign-

1. *Vide* Kane P.V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, pp. 596-597.
2. Winternitz M.A. History of Indian Literature, Vol. I., p. 575.
3. Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. X.
4. Tirthavivecanakāṇḍa of Kṛtyakalpataru, ed. by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (GOS., Vol. XCVIII, 1942), pp. 136-153. Dr. R.C. Hazra assigns the chapters on the Prayāgamāhātmya to 850-1250 A. D. (Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, p.177)
5. Agrawala V.S., Matsyapurāṇa—A Study, p. 181.
6. This is "a compact Text" according to Dr. V.S. Agrawala, *Ibid*, p.181.

6a. प्रभवात् सर्वतीर्थेभ्यः प्रभवत्यधिकं विभो । MP. 110.11 ab

rulers adore it with sacrifices and hence it is *sanctum sanctorum*[7]. The MP designates Prayāga as *Prajāpatikṣetra*[8] (extending from Prayāga-Pratiṣṭhāna to Vāsukihrada, (104.5), because Prajāpati is said to have performed a sacrifice[9]—and is said to remember it daily (109.16). It is called the *Tīrtharāja*[10].

EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES :

The area of Prayāgamaṇḍala is five *yojanas*[11] and it extends from Pratiṣṭhāna to Vāsukihrada, two Nāgas Kambala and Aśvatara and Naga Bahumūlaka.[12]

EULOGY OF PRAYĀGA :

Prayāga is one of the three *kṣetras par excellence*, the other two being Vārāṇasī and Gayā (*tristhalī*). It is said to abound in so many numerous holy places that Mārkaṇḍeya declares his inability to enumerate one and all (104.7) and this remark tends to suggest that various spots, viz. shrines, trees, etc. of this holy city were looked upon as a *tīrtha*.[13] With a view to enhancing the sanctity

7. यजन्ते क्रतुभिर्देवास्तथा चक्रधरा नृपाः ।
तत: पुण्यतमं नास्ति त्रिषु लोकेषु भारत ।। MP. 110.10.

8. MP. 111. 14; 114.4. cf. Kūrmapurāṇa 1. 36. 20; Nāradīyapurāṇa, Uttara. 63. 127-128.

9. यत्राजयत भूतात्मा पूर्वमेव पितामहः ।
प्रयागमिति विख्यातं तस्माद् भरतसत्तम ।। Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3. 85. 14; For other derivations *vide* Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. 598.

10. MP 109. 15-16. Cf. प्रकृष्टत्वात्प्रयागोऽसौ प्राधान्याद् राजशब्दवान् । Brahmapurāṇa quoted in tristhalīsetu of Nārāyaṇa Bhatta (1513-1580 A.D.) (Ass. ed. p. 13) as quoted by Kane P.V., *Op. cit.*, p. 598, fn. 1356. Cf. Skanda-purāṇa Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 7.45., Padmapurāṇa 6.23. 27-35. Incidentally, it may be noted that the word *Prayāga* is used in the neuter or the masculine gender according to the gender of the word with which it is associated; e.g. प्रजापतेरिदं क्षेत्रं प्रयागमिति विश्रुतं । MP. 114.14 ab स तीर्थराजो जयति प्रयागः । Padmapurāṇa 6. 23. 27.

11. MP. 103.9 *ab*; 111.8 *ab*; cf. Padmapurāṇa 1. 45, 8; Kūrmapurāṇa 2. 35. 4.

12. MP. 104.5; Padmapurāṇa 1. 39. 69-70, 41. 4-5; Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3. 83. 72; Agnipurāṇa 111.5; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 588-599.

13. On the antiquity and semantic vicissitudes of the word *tīrtha vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 554 ff.

of the city the *Purāṇakāra* waxes in hyperbolical descri stating that Prayāga is under the special protection of Indr as Hari and other gods are said to be the guardians of the (104.9) which is larger in extent and less holy than the The MP further states that till the time of the universal c Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva along with other gods, *gandharvas* great sages, seven islands, oceans, mountains and other semidivine beings cherish to sojourn in this appealing city defiant of the universal destruction. Over and abov celebrated denizens *Vedas* and *yajñas* dwell in person in which stands on the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yam daughter of the Sun (*Tapanasya sutā* 110.5) (106.17ff., 111.4ff.)[14] The superiority of Prayāga over other places is out by remarking that its very remembering, hearing of its g sight, recitation of its name and an application of clay to one's body liberate one from all sins.[15] Not only this, b the very remembering of Prayāga at the time of death ei home or in one's own land or in a foreign country brings one's transportation from this mundane world to the *Brahı* (105.18). It is said that a regular bathing for a period month coupled with a continent life at the confluence of th mighty rivers[15a] washes away all sins (108.14). The direc the Purāṇa about a bath for a period of three months thrice in the *Triveṇī* even to a betrayer of trust brings out the fa the purging influence of the waters and reflects the horror betrayer (108.15). Moreover, the Purāṇa refers to the stitution of *Māgha-snāna* when it states that a bath taken especially in the month of Māgha bears a reward equivalen gift of a hundred thousand cows (107.8). It is in the mont Māgha that the ten thousand tīrthas and crores of rivers are be present in the Ganges (112.16); possibly this is one of

14. Cf. Kūrmapurāṇa 1.36. 23-26; Padmapurāṇa 1. 41. 6-10.

15. MP. 104.12; 105.1=107.1; 106.1, 20; cf. Kūrmapurāṇa 1. 36 Agnipurāṇa 111. 6-7; Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3. 83. 75. Incidentally, it be mentioned that the Narmadā sanctified a person by her *da* (MP. 188. 11).

15a. For the *Gaṅgā-Yamunā-Saṅgama vide* MP 104. 16-17; 105. 3-4; 14, 1 *Vide* also Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 161.

factors that makes a bath in the month of Māgha especially purifying and merit-giving. "The *Melā* in this month (i.e. Māgha) and once every sixth and twelfth year is an old institution of which we have evidence in Yuwan chwang in the 7th century".[16] The miraculous virtues of bath tend to glorify the greatness of Prayāga.

This is the only holy place where the miserable, the poor and those with a fixed determination can hope to get liberation (105.2) and this may also tend to suggest the magrico-mystical effect of this place. Prayāga is said to be the holiest place in triple worlds and the region between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā is said to be the *jaghana* of the earth.[17] In this connection MM. Dr. P. V. Kane observes that "the idea appears to be that the holy places are the children of the earth".[18]

Religion and Philosophy

I. *Institution of Sacrifice and Tīrthayātrā* :

In ancient India sacrifice was not only the centre of human activity, but also the end-all and be-all of all activities. It was the means to heaven and liberation.[19] It was not possible for all to perform costly sacrifices like the Aśvamedha. It is also quite well-known that the Vedic rites were tabooed to Śūdras and women, who were thus deprived of the spiritual benefits accruing therefrom and hence stood in need of a substitute which could satiate their earnest longings in this domain.

From another point of view also there arose a need for a substitute which found an expression in the *tīrthayātrā*. The Brahmapurāṇa quoted by Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa enjoins that in event of his incapacity to perform sacrifices a Brāhmin must

16. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxxii ; on the *Māgha-melā* see Nevil H. R., Allahabad Gazetteer, Volume XXIII (1928), pp. 69ff.

17. MP. 106.19 ; cf. Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3.83.71 ; Padmapurāṇa 1.39.69 : 1.43.19 ; Agnipurāṇa 111.4 ; Kūrmapurāṇa 1.37.12.

18. Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 600, fn. 1362.

19. यया॑ति विश्वा दुरिता तरेम
सुतर्मा॑णमधि नावं रुहेम ॥ Rv. 8.42.3 cd.
cf. also यज्ञो वै सुतर्मा॑ नौः (Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 1.13) On Ṛv. 8.42.3

visit holy places[30]. The MP accepts the fact for the performance of a sacrifice, guidance and help of expert priests, several implements and many other auxiliary things, which are necessary for the performance of the sacrifice, involve a very serious financial implication and hence the sacrifice was within the reach of kings and affluent people only. It is therefore that the MP recommends a pilgrimage to holy places to the pauper as a substitute of a sacrifice. It also declares that the pilgrimage surpasses even in some respects the rewards accruing from sacrificial performance.[31] Thus the Purāṇa boldly advocates the superiority of the theory of *Tīrthayātrā* over that of sacrifice. Thus we see that such Purāṇic injunctions filled up a significant gap in the religious and cultural life of the people.

II. *Mythology* :

Viṣṇu who is a minor deity in the ṚV assumes a prominent position in the Brāhmaṇa period[32] and is even identified with sacrifice.[33] This equational imagery appears to be reflected, when Viṣṇu is described as *Yajamānaḥ* (106. 13) and as such Viṣṇu is said to reside in Prayāga, the middle *Vedī* of Brahmā[34] after the universal destruction.

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20. यज्ञाधिकारेऽप्यथवा निवृत्ते विप्रस्तु तीर्थानि परिव्रजेत ।
तीर्थेष्वलं यज्ञफले हि यस्मात् प्रोक्तं मुनीन्द्रैरमलस्वभावैः ।।
Quoted in the तीर्थविवेचनकाण्ड p. 9 Vide also तीर्थचिन्तामणि of वाचस्पति pp. 5-6; तीर्थप्रकाश (a part of वीरमित्रोदय) of मित्रमिश्र p. 19.

21. MP. 112. 12-15. MP 112. 12 *ab*=Mbh. cr. ed. 3.80.34 *ab* which reads वेदेष्विह for देवेष्वापि of the MP. B 2 [i.e. ms. if Shantiniketan Vishvabharati Library. No 781 dated Śaka 1183 c. a. A. D. 1261)] read देवेभ्यः. MP. 112.12 *cd*=Mbh. cr. ed. 3.80.35 *ab* which reads ते for हि of the MP. MP. 112.13=Mbh. Cr. 3.8.37 which reads युधां वीर for युधिष्ठिर of the MP. MP. 112.15=Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3.80.38 which read यज्ञैः for यज्ञेभ्यः of the MP. Cf. Padma-Purāṇa 1.11.14-17; Viṣṇudharmottara 3.23. 4-5.

22. Cf. अग्निर्वै देवानामवमो विष्णुः परमः । Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I.1

23. Cf. विष्णुर्वै यज्ञः । Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, I.15

24. Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. 597. The other two *vedīs* are Kurukṣetra and Gayā (*ibid.*, p. 597).

III. *Suicide* :

"To live till death releases one is regarded as an unfailing means of obtaining salvation in most major *tīrthas*"[25] and naturally people got a fascination not only to pass their last days, but even to put an end to their life in holy places like Prayāga, Vārāṇasī etc. Suicide is condemned all over the world and India is no exception to it, the ancient Indian law-givers reprobated in general the practice of religious suicide at holy places. But this bar with post-mortuary penalties was waived off under certain circumstances.[26] As mentioned above, Prayāga is a renowned centre of religious suicide. In this connection the following stanza from the MP deserves to be noted :—

na vedavacanāt tāta na lokavacanāt tathā |
matir utkramaṇīyā te prayāgagamanaṁ prati || 106.22.

i.e. "One should not suppress a wish of going to Prayāga on account of *devavacana* or *lokavacana*". This stanza recurs in many Purāṇas and the Mbh. with variants,[27] the important of them being *vedavacanāt* for *devavacanāt* and *Prayāgagamanam* for *Prayāgamaraṇam*. The edition of the MP with the Prakrit *ṭīkā* by Janārdanācārya and Anantācārya (*Adhyāya* 105, stanza 22, Vol. I, p. 674) and

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25. Rangaswami Aiyangar K.V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxii.

26. For details *vide* Kane P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, pp. 924-928; Vol. III, pp. 939, 948-949. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *ibid*, pp. lxiii ff.

27. न वेदवचनात्तात न लोकवचनादपि ।
मतिरुत्क्रमणीया ते प्रयागमरणं प्रति ।। Mbh. Cr. Ed. 3.83.78.

Cf. Nāradīya, उत्तर० 63.129 ; पद्म आदि 39.76 reads न देव. The अग्नि 111.8 reads मतिरुत्क्रमणीयास्ते प्रयागे मरणं प्रति । The पद्म आदि 43.22 reads प्रयागगमनं प्रति. The कूर्म 1.37.14 [ab] न मातृवचनात्तात न···दपि । मति···प्रयागगमनं प्रति ।। The पद्म० आदि० 33.64 reads न लोकवचनात् पित्रोर्न चैव गुरुवादतः । मतिर्न क्रमणीया स्यादविमुक्तगति प्रति ।

(Kane P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV, p. 606, fn. 1374). With reference to this MM. Dr. Kane observes, "This entirely changes the meaning and avers that if one has a desire to go to Kāśī, one should not heed the words of ones parents or of people (dissuading him from going)" *Ibid.*, p. 606, fn. 1374.

the one by Jivananda (Adhyāya 104, stanza 22, p. 366) also read the same as the Anandashram Sanskrit Series (=ASS.). Dr. Ram Pratap Tripathi (मत्स्यमहापुराण p. 247) also appears to accept the ASS. reading in the translation. As mentioned above this stanza occurs also in the Mbh. (*vide* fn. 27) ; some of its mss. *viz.* B 1.3, T2 G2 read देववचन. B (m as in text)s reads गमनं for मरणम्[28]. It is significant to note that this stanza as quoted in the Tirtha vivecana kāṇḍa of Lakṣmidhara Bhaṭṭa's Kṛtyakalpataru (p. 143) (wherein it is ascribed to the MP) reads *Vedavacanāt* for *devavacanāt* and *Prayāgamaraṇam* for *Prayāgagamanam*. Of course, the final reading will be decided in the critical edition of the MP. With the reading as found in the Tirthavivecana Kāṇḍa, the MP appears to sanction and commend suicide at Prayāga in eloquent terms.[29] Elsewhere *i.e.* in MP 108. 26 it is said that a *prāṇapariyāga* in the Yamunā leads to an acquisition of the *paramapada*. The Dharmaśāstra literature and the purāṇas sanction *prāṇapariyāga* under various circumstances,[30] out of which the following are referred to in the MP in the context of suicide at Prayāga[31] :—

(a) *Suicide by Kārṣāgni*[32] :

If a person, who is free from all diseases and also from any deficiency of limbs and is in full possession of five senses, embraces

28. Mbh. Cr. ed. 3.83.78, fn. on p. 307.

29. For the interpretation of the words *devavacana* and *lokavacana* occuring in the stanza under question *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 606.

30. For details *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 604 ff.

31. For Suicide at Prayāga *vide* Chattopadhyaya K. C., Journal of the U. P. Historical Society Vol. X. pp. 65 as referred to by Kane P. V. *op. cit.*, p. 608, fn. 1383 and the Mbh. cr. ed. Āraṇyaka parvan, p. 307 fn.

32. The other readings for कार्षाग्नि in 107. 9 are पञ्चाग्नि in *ga* (which is also the lection in the Padmapurāṇa 1. 44-9). कार्षाग्नि in *gha* and काष्ठाग्नि in *tia*. *En passant* it may be mentioned that MM. Dr. P. V. Kane remarks that कार्षाग्नि is short for करीषाग्नि (the reading of the नारदीय उत्तर 63. 154) for metrical reasons. *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 605. fn. 1373.

his death in the cowdung-fire at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā, he is honoured in heaven for as many years as there are pores in the body.[33] It is significant to note that these Purāṇic statements are also supported by historical events. The Ahisad inscription of Ādityasena of Magadha states that his fifth ancestor plunged himself in the slow burning cowdung fire as it in waters.[34] This mode of suicide is also referred to in the Ain-i-Akbari.[35]

(b) *Suicide by jalapraveśa*:

A Suicide by *jalapraveśa* at the confluence of the two mighty rivers, the Ganges and the Yamunā at the time of the lunar eclipse is promised the Somaloka (107.13). This is also referred to in the Ain-i-Akbari.[36] There are historical instances of suicide by this process in Karṇadeva of Cedi[36] (1042 A. D.), Dhanga Candella[37] (1000 A. D.) and the Cālukya king Someśvara Āhavamalla (1065 A. D.) who committed suicide in the Tuṅga-bhadrā[38]. Gāngeyadeva (1040 A. D.) alongwith his hundred wives committed suicide in Prayāga.[39]

(c) *Suicide by other modes*:

(i) A person can commit a suicide by hanging his head down and with legs up and by drinking the flames of fire. Such

33. MP 107.9ff. Cf. Kūrmapurāṇa 1. 38. 3-4. Nāradīyapurāṇa, *Uttara*, 63. 154. Badaoni testifies to the practice of suicide at Prayāga. (The History of India as told by its Historians by sir H. M. Elliot, V, p. 513 as referred to by Nevill H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 166).

34. शौर्यसत्यव्रतधरो यः प्रयागगतो धने।
अम्भसीव करीषाग्नौ मग्नः स पुष्पपूजितः॥ Gupta inscrip. No. 42 p. 203 (of the text) as quoted by P. V. Kane, *op. cit.* p. 605, fn. 1372.

35. Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Goldwin (1800). Vol. I, p. 531, as referred to by Kane P. V. *op. cit.*, p. 695, fn. 1373.

36. As referred to by Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V. *Op. cit.*, Introduction p. Lxxxi.

37. Epigraphia Indica, I. 140 as referred to by P.V. Kane, History of Dharmaśastra, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 925

38. Epigraphia Carnatica VII,' Sk. 136. as referred to by P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśastra, vol. II, pt. II, p. 926.

39. Epigraphia Indica, XII. 205 at p. 211 as referred to by P.V. Kane History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 925, fn. 2135.

a suicide is promised a stay in heaven and on his return therefrom he is to be re-born as an *agnihotrin* (107. 15-16).

(ii) A person can also commit a suicide by lopping off various limbs of his body and offering their pieces to birds. Such suicide is promised a stay in the *Somaloka* for a period of hundred thousand years and on his return therefrom he is to be reborn as a righteous king (107.17-18). This practice is referred to by Hiuen Tsang (c. 629-645 A. D.[40]).

In connection with the religious suicide it is to be noted that such a suicide had not to undergo any post-mortuary penalty, but on the contrary he secured a place in celestial regions e.g. Somaloka etc. with fabulous pleasures, e.g. all types of heavenly pleasures in the good company of manes, sages and *gandharvas*. Moreover, on the expiry of the religious merit he was re-born on the earth as a lord of Jambūdvīpa etc. (107. 11 ff). *En passant* it may be mentioned that *prāṇapariṭyāga* is in general extolled at *tīrthas*[41]. Such enticing temptations which were held out might have accentuated the cases of suicide at holy places. But gradually there arose even a repulsive feeling to suicide either at Prayāga or Vārāṇasī[42].

IV. *Worship of the dead* :

With the ancestor-worship which forges a permanent bond between the dead and the living and which is found even in primitive societies, is closely associated the institution of *śrāddha*. Amongst the several *Śrāddha-devas* river-sides and *tīrthas* find a place.[43] It is, then, but natural that Prayāga, being one of the foremost holy places, be strongly recommended as one of the right places for the offering of *śrāddha* (105.14).

40. Beal, Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, pp. 232-234. The Kūrmapurāṇa (I. 38. 3-12) mentions these four modes of suicide.

41. Kantawala S.G., मत्स्यपुराणान्तर्गत नर्मदामाहात्म्यमां स्थणनामो, व्याख्यान-(स बाजु साहित्यमाला) pp. 176, 178.

42. For details *vide* Kane P. V., History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. IV pp. 608 ff.

43. For *Śrāddhadeśa*, Kane P. V., *vide op. cit.* pp. 377-378, 616-617.

One of the important aspects of the cult of manes is the bound by mutual ties of offering and receiving the oblations ı this connection various strata of views are met with in this n of the Prayāgamāhātmya. The group of the three ised of the father, grandfather and great grandfather,[44] is d to and this group received the *piṇḍas*, whereas the further lants i. e. the fourth, fifth and the sixth ones, received the nd hence were designated as *lepabhāgins* or lepabhāk-s[45] and eventh one is the ego. At another place the *sapta-puruṣa-ĭya* is alluded by the phrase *āsaptamaṁ kulam* (108.26ab). here in this tract (106.28 ; 108.5) there is reference to the cendants and ten descendants (cf. *daśa pūrvān daśa parān*)·).2 it is declared that a bath at Somatīrtha will effect the tion of hundred pitṛs (cf. also 101.30). This may possibly erpreted to be a distant reminiscence of community-worship by the time of the Atharvaveda had changed from that of mmunity to that of the family.[46]

'asting and other rules :

Fasting and continence follow as a corollary to *śrāddha.* the point of view of the bodily discipline it brings about l purification which in turn enables one to acquire celestial s or a reward of a *śrauta* sacrifice. It is pointed out that st is observed in Prayāga by a person sound in health and perfect continence, he gets a reward of the horse-sacrifice ry step (108. 3-5). Such statements can be interpreted as an *āda* emphasing the need and utility of a fast at holy places. er interpretation may also be suggested from the religio- oint of view ; the *tīrthayātrā* is one of the means of reducing

44. तारिताः पितरस्तेन नरकात्प्रपितामहाः ।
पितरस्तारिताः सर्वे तथैव च पितामहाः ।। MP. 110.18*cd*.
The term '*pitarah*' which is in plural will include an ancestor of any degree. Note also the mention of the specific kinship terms for the second and the third degrees of ascendants.

45. *Vide* Kantawala S. G., the Cult of Manes as depicted in the Matsya-purāṇa, Journal of the Oriental Institute Vol. VI, No. 1, (September, 1956), p. 28.

46. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

or mitigating the consequences of sin.[47] The Viṣṇudharm (35.6) decrees that those quality of *mahāpātakas*[48] may be ne zed by the performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice or by all sacred places on the earth. Elsewhere (184.18) th states that a heap of sins as big as the mountain Meru or M is nullified, when one visits Avimukta (Benares). A person a bath at Benares is promised a reward of ten horse-sac (183.71). Such statements of benefits may also be inter as a forceful attractive method of stating that a fast or a b a penalty for a *mahāpātaka*.[49]

VI. *Philosophical Gleaning*:

In India religion and philosophy go generally toge Every religious faith in India has tried, generally to ec its godhead, e.g. Viṣṇu, Śiva, etc. with Brahman. The omn sence of the Lord is an acknowledged fact in Indian reli and philosophy.[50] The MP also sings that Brahman is pre in all beings (109.13, 111.5) and a step further in this l notion can find also an expression in the belief that gods present in trees or "the great trees are the homes of spirits or incarnated gods[51]." And the MP states actually that the *Akṣaya* is Śiva himself (111.10). This equational deification of *Akṣayavaṭa* reflects upon the dendrolatrical aspect of religio Even now-a-days ladies worship the *vaṭavṛkṣa* (*Ficus indica*) the full-moon-day of the month of Jyeṣṭha. In the Upaniṣ Brahman combines the triple function of origination, maintena and destruction of the universe. In the later mythology Brah is associated with the function of creation, Viṣṇu with that maintenance and Śiva with that of destruction. The MP ass ciates these deities with these functions (111.3-4). The origin

47. For different means *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.
48. On *mahāpātakas vide* Kane P.V. *op. cit.*, pp. 16 ff.
49. A similar view is also expressed by K.V. Rangaswami Aiyanga (*op. cit.*, Introduction p. xlviii).
50. Cf. ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वम् Iśopaniṣad I.
51. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxxvi.
52. For tree-worship in ancient India *vide* Karmarkar A. P., the Reli gions of India, Vol. I, pp. 189ff.

nctional triune unity is echoed in the MP, when it declares at Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are the three parts (*bhāgāḥ, v. l. vāḥ* in *ga* for *bhāgāḥ* in the ASS. edition.) of one *corpus* (3.16).[53]

The Indian thinkers have advocated various means for the alisation of the Absolute and the MP refers to the following es in this tract :—*vrata, dāna, tapas, tīrtha*, sacrifices with due es and gifts, *yoga* (*vide* also 109.9ff.), *sāṁkhya, sadācāra, japa, ma*, fast, bath and even suicide (106.27, 107.3, 9ff; 110.19; 12.7).[54] These means enable an aspirant to have a realisation of e Lord which in turn leads to the attainment of the *parama gati* 11.5). The MP declares emphatically that the above-said eans are of no significance as compared to a stay in Prayāga 10.19-20), which transports directly an aspirant to a particular lestial region which he deserves e. g. Rudraloka (112.9) etc.[55] f; 107.5ff, 39)[56], till his *karmans* last and then he is re-born in a ealthy family or as a lord of Jambūdvīpa (105.7, 11; 106.37, ; 107.6).[57] It is also interesting to note a cautionary remark at those who steal elephants, horses, cows, oxen, jewels, gold , and offer them as gifts are denied the heavenly regions and e doomed to hell,[58] where others to repair to are the desers of cow, fire, scriptures, gold, water, women and parents 09.20ff.). *En passant* this reflects on some evil element and actice in the society.

OGRAPHICAL DATA

The chapters on the Prayāgamāhātmya furnish us with ographical data. The *tīrthas* mentioned are arranged here in an habetical order for ready reference :—

53. *Vide* Kantawala S. G., Cultural History from the Matsya Purāṇa, p. 177.
54. *Vide* also Kantawala S. G., *ibid.*, pp. 219ff for the treatment of means to realisation.
55. Cf. Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxxi.
56. For pleasure in the paradise *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 157ff,
57. On the doctrine of transmigration in the MP *vide* Kantawala S. G. *Ibid.*, pp. 228ff.
58. On the concept of hell, *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 154ff.

1. *Agnitīrtha* : It is on the southern bank of the Yamunā.[59] And it is to be visited on the second day during the *bahirvedī parikramā* of Prayāga (Tīrthāṅka=TK, p. 118).

2. *Akṣayavaṭa* : The Lord Śiva is said to protect it (104.10), nay, he is said to transform himself into this *vaṭa* (111.10). A suicide at the root of this tree leads one to the Rudraloka (106.11). In the Fort there is the Pātālpur temple and the Akṣayavaṭa is shown here (TK. p. 117). H. R. Nevill observes that (in the court) "there was a large tree from which devotees used to throw themselves down in order to die on the sacred spot[60]." The twelve Ādityas who are *Rudrasaṁstutāḥ* do not burn the *vaṭamūla* even though they burn the whole universe (106.11-12).[61]

3. *Bhogavatī* : It is to be visited after paying visit to Koṭitīrtha. It is situated to the north of Vāsuki[62]. Now there are twelve Mādhavas in Prayāga and one of them is Asimādhava who is near Nāgavāsuki (TK. p. 117). In the Bakshimohulla there is a temple of Nāgavāsuki on the bank of the Ganges (TK. p. 117) and it is to be visited during the *antarvedī parikramā* of Prayāga (Tk. p. 118). It appears that Bhogavatī may be located somewhere in the vicinity of Nāgavāsuki. It may be mentioned that the Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa states : *tatra Bhogavatī nama Vāsukes tīrtham uttamam|* (p. 153).

4. *Daśāśvamedhaka* : The tīrthakāṇḍa reads it as *Daśāśva medhika* (pp. 145, 153).[62a] It is mentioned after Bhogavatī.[63] This

59. MP 103.27 : *Vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 615.

60. Nevill H. R., *op. cit.*, p. 156.

61. On the Akṣayavaṭa, *Vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614; Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxxxii, Gode P. K., The History of Akṣayavata (Undecaying Banyan tree) at Prayāga and Gayā, as revealed by some Sanskrit texts between 1st century A. D. & 1900, ABORI, Vols. XXXVII, pts. I-II, pp. 82-92, Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 298. Mārkaṇḍeya also practised penance at the Akṣayavaṭa ; cf.

प्रयागमासाद्य पुनः स्नात्वा तीर्थे गरीयसि ।
मार्कण्डेयो महातिजास्तेपे वटतले तपः ॥—नरसिंहपुराणम् 10.4 (Published by Gopal Narayana & Co. Bombay 1911)

62. MP. 106.46 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

62a. The MP 22.10 also reads *Daśāśvamedhika*.

63. MP. 106.46 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

Daśāśvamedha may be identified with a *ghat* of this name. Incidentally it may be mentioned that a *ghat* of this name is found at several holy places.[64].

5. Haṁsaprapatanatīrtha : The Tīrtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa reads it as *Haṁsapratapana* (p. 143). It is mentioned after Kambalāśvatara Nāgas and is situated to the north of Pratiṣṭhāna and to the east af the Bhāgīrathī[65]. A bath at this *tīrtha* enables one to acquire a reward of the Aśvamedha sacrifice and a residence in heaven for times immemorial. Dr. V. S. Agrawala remarks that "there is still a Haṁsakūpa at Jhusi to make the Haṁsaprapatanatīrtha[66]". According to the information as given in the TK (p. 118) there is also a temple called Haṁsatīrtha near the Haṁsakūpa.

6. Kambalāśvatara Nāgas :—The *Kambalāśvatara Nāgas* form one of the points of the Prajāpati-kṣetra[67]. This site is situated on the southern bank of the Yamunā (106.27).

7. Koṭitīrtha : It is mentioned after Sandhyāvaṭa. A suicide here is rewarded with a stay in heaven for a period of crores of years and after the expiry of the religious merit he is re-born as a wealthy person[68]. The reference to *Koṭivarṣasahasra* (*cf. Koṭivarṣasahasrāṇāṃ svargaloke mahīyate* |) (106. 44) may probably be an explanation of the place-name. It is on the Ganges two miles from Baladevaji. There is a temple of Śiva here and a festival is held in the month of Śrāvaṇa. It is the present Shivakuṭi[69].

8. Mānasatīrtha : It is situated on the Northern bank of the Ganges[70]. It is said that if a fast is observed here for three

64. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 318-319.
65. MP. 106.32 ; *vide* Kane P.V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.
66. Agrawala V. S., Matsyapurāṇa—A Study, p. 183, also *vide ibid.*, pp. 182-183.
67. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 373 ; on *Kambala vide* Dikshitar V. R. R., Purāṇa Index, Vol. I, p. 318 ; on *Aśvatara vide ibid.*, p. 125 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 599 ; Rangaswami Aiyangar K. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.
68. MP. 106. 44-45 ; *vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.
69. TK. p. 117. *En passant* it may be mentioned that in the MP one comes across more than one *Koṭitīrtha*. For discussion and identification thereof *vide* Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, pp. 346-347.
70. MP. 107. 2 ; *vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 615.

nights, all the desires are fulfilled and one acquires a reward of *godāna, bhūdāna* and *hiraṇyadāna* by remembring this holy place (107. 2-3). It is to be visited, after having visited Paḍilā Mahādeva, on the seventh day of the *bahirvedī parikramā* and pilgrims sojourn here at night (TK. 118).

9. Nāgabahumūlaka: It forms one of the points of boundaries of Prajāpatikṣetra.[71]

10. Narakatīrtha : It is on the west bank of the Yamunā and is sacred to Dharma.[72] MM. Dr. P. V. Kane proposes to read Anaraka.[73] The Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa reads : *paścime Dharmarājasya tīrthaṁ tu navakaṁ smṛtam* / (p. 149).

11. Nirañjanatīrtha : It is sacred to Āditya (cf. *Ādityasya mahātmanaḥ tīrthaṁ nirañjanaṁ nāma—*/ (108.29). The Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa reads: *tīrthaṁ Nirujakaṁ nāma* (p. 149) and notes *Nirudakam* as its variant in P.[74] It is on the northern bank of the Yamunā. Gods are said to perform the *sandhyā* here thrice a day (108. 29ff.), It is to be visited during the course of the *antarvedī parikramā* (Tk. p. 118).

12. Pratiṣṭhāna : It is the modern Jhusi[75].

13. Ṛṇapramocanatīrtha : It is on the northern bank of the Yamunā and to the south of Prayāga[76]. It is said that, one, who observes a fast for one night after taking a bath, is liberated from all debts and he obtains the *svargaloka*. And he is debtless over. This appears to explain the place-name :

ekarātroṣitaḥ snātvā ṛṇaiḥ sarvaiḥ pramucyate /
svargalokam avāpnoti anṛṇaś ca sadā bhavet // 107. 21.

This *Tīrtha* is the same as Ṛṇamocanatīrtha and is to be visited during the *antarvedī parikramā* (TK. p. 118).

14. Samudrakūpa : "The name Samudrakūpa is of cultural significance[77]" It is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges

71. Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 371.
72. MP 106.27. For details *vide* Kantawala S. G. *op. cit.*, p. 3366.
73. Kane P. V., op. cit., p. 615 ; *vide* also *ibid.*, p. 615, fn. 1399.
74. Tīrtha vivecana Kāṇḍa., p. 149, fn. 4.
75. *Vide* Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 374 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*,, p. 614.
76. MP. 107.20 ; *vide* also Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 615.
77. Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 182.
78. Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 599 ; cf. also MP. 106. 30.

106. 30). It is on the way to Daraganj via Pī pā ke pula TK. 117). To the opposite of the confluence there is a nound known as Samudrakūpa (T. K. p. 118). According to he TK (p. 118) it is to be visited on the ninth day during *ıahirvedī parikramā* of Prayāga. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane holds that t is the same as Pratiṣṭhāna[78]. Dr. V. S. Agrawala observes that 'to the east of the conjoint stream of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā after their confluence, towards modern Jhusi (ancient Pratiṣṭhāna) a pilgrim finds himself at the spot called Trailokya, and there the Sarva-Samudra well is situated. सामुद्र of the Matsya is named सर्वसामुद्र here (i. e. कूर्म, पूर्वार्ध ३७.२२) which should be the same as "सप्तसामुद्र".[79]

15. Sandhyāvaṭa : It is mentioned after Urvaśīramaṇa. An observance of continence and a fast here enables one to achieve the Brahmaloka.[80] There is a Sandhyāvaṭa near the eastern gate of the Haṁsatīrtha temple (Tk. p. 118) and is to be visited on the ninth day during the *bahirvedī parikramā* of Prayāga. (Tk. p. 118).

16. Somatīrtha : It is temptingly said that it is a destroyer of *mahāpātaka* and a bath here effects a liberation of *puruṣāṇāṁ śatam* (109–2). It is to be visited during the *bahirvedī parikramā* (Tk. p. 118).

17. Urvaśīramaṇa : MM. Dr. P. V. Kane[81] and Lakṣmīdhara Bhaṭṭa[82] read *Urvaśīpulina* for Urvaśīramaṇa. It is mentioned after Haṁsaprapatanatīrtha. It appears whitish with swans.[83] Dr. V. S. Agrawala observes that it is "the place where king Purūravas and Urvaśī had enjoyed themselves. This seems

79. Agrawala V. S., the Seven-Sea-Gift in the Matsyapurāṇa, Purāṇa, Vol. I. No. 2 (February 1960), p. 209; Matsyapurāṇa—A Study, p. 192.

80. MP. 106.43 ; Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 614.

81. Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, pp. 614-615.

82. Tirtha Vivecana Kāṇḍa, p. 144.

83. उर्वशीरमणे पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे । MP. 106.34ab.
Dr. Ram Pratap Tripathi translates MP. 106.34 ab thus
उर्वशीरमण नाम से विख्यात विस्तृत हंसपाण्डुर नामक तीर्थ···मत्स्यमहापुराण हिन्दी अनुवाद । p. 248.

to be the vast stretch of white sandy area east of Jhusi (उर्वशीरम्य पुण्ये विपुले हंसपाण्डुरे), where king Purūravas had his palace a gardens outside the city of Pratiṣṭhāna (बाह्योद्यान).[84] The pla name appears to be explained, when it is said that by a suicid here one would see Urvaśī daily in heaven and after his retu therefrom he would get hundred Urvaśī-like girls (106.36-37).[85]

18. Vāsukihrada : It is one of the points of boundaries Prajāpatikṣetra (104.5). It is the modern Vāsuki Nāga ne Daraganj.[86]

19. Veṇīmādhava : It is referred to in 111.9. It is to tl north of Pratiṣṭhāna (111.9). There is one Śrī-Veṇī-Mādhava i Daraganj (Tk. p. 117).

Over and above these holy spots Prayāga is said to aboun in numerous holy places (110.12ff) out of which Sindhusāgar may be mentioned. Can it be the one which is to be visite during the *antarvedī parikramā* near Kakarahaghat (Tk. p. 118) The MP refers also to the three *agnikuṇḍas* and five *kuṇḍ* in the Ganges.[87]

84. Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 183 ; *vide* also Kantawala S. G., *op. cit.*, p. 400.

85. A suicide at Urvaśīramaṇa is also promised to enjoy pleasures in the *Svargaloka* in the company of the pitrs. (MP. 106.35).

86. Agrawala V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 181.

87. MP. 110.4, 13 ; *vide* Kane P. V., *op. cit.*, p. 599, fn. 1361.

N. B. : The unspecified references as usual refer to the MP. thus 104.5 = MP. 104.5.

XANDRAMES OF THE CLASSICAL ACCOUNTS AND HIS PURĀṆIC COUNTERPART*

By

K. D. SETHNA

[पुराणपत्रिकायाः VIII. 1, 2 अंकयोः मुद्रिते "मेगस्थनीजः 'पौराणिक-वंशकालक्रमश्च" इति लेखस्य भागद्वये लेखकमहोदयेन प्रतिपादितमासीत् यद् गुप्त-वंशीयः चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथम एव ग्रीकलेखकैरुक्तः 'सैंड्रोकोट्स्' नामा नृपः । अस्मिन् परिशिष्टरूपलेखे इदं प्रतिपाद्यते यत् अलैक्जेंडरकालीनः ग्रीकलेखकैर्निर्दिष्टो जैंड्रमेस' (Xandrames) नामको भारतीयो नृपतिः वायुपुराणे प्रोक्तो नागवंशीयो राजा चन्द्रांश एव । आधुनिकैः ऐतिहासिकैः मन्यते यद् जैंड्रमेस-नामा नृपः नन्दराज्ञां मध्ये कश्चिद् नन्द एवासीत् । इदं मतं लेखकमहोदयेनात्र निराकृतम् ।]

When Alexander the Great reached the river Hyphasis (Vipāśā, modern Beās) he heard from the Indian prince Phegelas (Bhagalā) the news, which the renowned Porus (Paurava) confirmed, that on the eastern bank of the Ganges there was waiting for him Xandrames, king of the Gangaridai[1] and the Prasii, with an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 infantry, 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants. The news struck terror in the hearts of the tired Macedonians and they forced their leader to call a retreat.

If, as we have argued, the Purāṇas point to Chandragupta I, founder of the Imperial Guptas, instead of to Chandragupta Maurya as being Sandrocottus to whose court Megasthenes was sent in *c.* 305 B. C. as ambassador by Seleucus Nicator, the question must inevitably arise : "Who, according to the Purāṇas, was Xandrames, whom the Classical accounts put in time a little before Sandrocottus became king of Palibothra (Pāṭaliputra) ?"

Modern historians identify Xandrames with a king of the Nanda dynasty preceding the Mauryas. Failure to discover his

* A supplementary note to Parts I and II of *'Megasthenes and the Problem of Indian Chronology as Based on the Purāṇas'*, published in *Purāṇa*, January and July 1966.

1. Sometimes misspelled "Gandaridai', once "Gandaritai" and often mentioned as "Gangaridan" and "Gangarides".

counterpart as a predecessor of the Guptas is likely to be co as a serious defect in the traditional Purāṇic chronology a sign that the current theory is correct.

We may admit that the failure would be a defect should also remark that it could help in no way at all t for Chandragupta Maurya. What evidence worth crediting any source, Purāṇic or other has ever been put forth to i Xandrames with any Nanda ?

The All-Round Weakness of the Current Theory

The name "Xandrames" is indubitably the Greek form o Sanskrit appellation like "Chandramās". No Nanda bears Purāṇas a name echoing it. The founder is known as Mahā and one of his eight sons is mentioned as Sumālya or Sumā Sukalpa.[1] In Buddhist tradition we do not hear of a fath eight sons but of nine Nanda brothers, all of whose nam given in the *Mahābodhivaṁśa* (1) Ugrasena, (2) Pa (3) Paṇḍugati, (4) Bhūtapāla, (5) Rāshṭrapāla, (6) Govishāṇa Daśasiddhaka, (8) Kaivarta and (9) Dhana.[2] Here too, t nothing answering to "Xandrames." But R. C. Raychau reminding us that Curtius, unlike Diodorus, speaks of Agra and not Xandrames, has ingeniously proposed that the Sa patronymic "Augrasainya", derivable from Ugrasena and m "Son of Ugrasena", is the Indian original of the name pre by the Greeks. But it is difficult to see how Ugrasena explicitly called the eldest amongst the Nanda brothers ca rise to a term which clearly makes him the father of the them. "Augrasainya" is a sheer misnomer in the context in alone the name "Ugrasena" occurs. Besides, in its second p has not the least correspondence to Agrammes.

What perhaps goes most against it is the baselessness belief underlying its formation—namely, that, in R. K. Mool

1. F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* (Lo 1913), p. 26, with fn. 24.
2. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, edited by R. C. Majumdar and Pusalker (Bombay, 1953), p. 31.
3. *The Political History of Ancient India* (3rd ed.), p. 15,

words,[1] "the form Agrammes is modified into Xandrames by Diodorus". Actually, Curtius who uses "Agrammes" belongs to the 1st century A. D., whereas Diodorus wrote in the 1st century B.C. Chronologically, there can be no doubt that "Agrammes" is a corruption of "Xandrames", possibly through an intermediate version like "Andrames" analogous to Plutarch's "Androcottus"[2] in the 1st century A. D. for Strabo's "Sandrocottus"[3] in the 1st century B.C. Moreover, a corruption cannot have—as "Xandrames" does—so plainly Indian a ring, while the original has none. Hence we have to ignore Agrammes and take only Xandrames into consideration. But then no Nanda can have any standing.

The sole remaining argument is sought to be founded on some details in the reports by both Diodorus and Curtius. The former (VII. XCIII)[4] says of his Xandrames : "...the king of the Gandaridai was a man of quite worthless character and held in no respect, as he was thought to be the son of a barber. This man—the king's father—was of a comely person, and of him the queen had become enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned." Curtius (IX. II)[5] reports essentially the same story but with one or too variations in the details : "...the present king was not merely a man originally of no distinction but even of the very meanest condition. His father was in fact a barber scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affection of the queen and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign and then, under pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death begot the present king who was detested and held cheap by his subjects as

1. *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times* (Madras, 1943), p. 32.
2. *Life of Alexander*, Ch. LXII.
3. *The Classical Accounts of India*, edited by R. C. Majumdar (Calcutta, 1960), pp. 262, 270, 272.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 128.

he rather took after his father than conduct himself as the occupant of the throne."

Our historians draw upon Jain tradition in their attempt at a parallel for the Nandas. In the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* (p. 693) we have a Nanda described as begotten of a barber. Hemachandra's *Pariśishṭaparvan* (VI. 232) makes him the son of a barber by a courtezan. Struck by the barber-story, our historians forget a central discrepancy. Even in Jain tradition there are nine Nandas and, as in the Purāṇas, they are a father and eight sons. Now, it is only the first, the father, who is called the son of a barber. Yet it is not he who can be deemed Xandrames. The ninth Nanda immediately preceding Chandragupta Maurya is our man. He is nowhere spoken of as a barber's son or stigmatised as belonging to a barber-family. Thus once more the Nandas are out.

The Purāṇic evidence on them, it should be obvious, is pretty unhelpful. Else there would be little inducement to resort to Buddhist or Jain tradition. The Purāṇas[1] see Mahāpadma as the son of the Śuṅga king Mahānandin by a Śūdrā woman. Here it is the mother instead of the father who is of mean origin. And there is no question of the queen conspiring with a lover and murdering her husband and bringing to the throne her son by that lover. Mahāpadma comes to the throne rightfully and normally.

The only point of agreement with the classical accounts of Xandrames is, in a very general sense, "mean origin." Jain tradition also agrees with them. But Mookerji[2] notes how glaringly Buddhist records are here at variance: "Buddhist tradition does not impute any base origin to the Nandas and thus runs counter to the Brahminical and Jain traditions." We may add that neither of the last two is uniform in its voice. While the Purāṇas label the Nandas as Śūdras, the famous Indian drama *Mudrā-rākshasa* (VI.6), by which many scholars set considerable store, regards the Nandas as *prathitakulajāḥ*, "of illustrious birth", or *uchchhairavijanam*, "of high birth". And even in the Jain *Pariśishṭaparvan* (VIII. 320), which makes a

1. Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.
2. *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

barber breed the first Nanda on a courtezan, the daughter of the Nanda king preceding Chandragupta Maurya claims after her father's deposition a certain right from him possible only to a Kshatriya princess and the claim is conceded.

This leads us to suspect that the single feature in which Jain tradition broadly approaches the Greek accounts—namely, the barber-birth—is not meant to be taken literally. Perhaps the very fact of its exclusive occurrence in this tradition implies that it is not literally meant. And, when the *Pariśishṭaparvan* itself is internally inconsistent, we may endorse B. M. Barua's remarks[1]: "The barber story is almost proverbial in the ancient royal tradition of India. When a reigning monarch was found stingy in the payment of rewards or in making gifts, he was taken to be a barber's son."

Even the mean and avaricious disposition of the Nandas is not unequivocally asserted in our literature. The Buddhist *Mahāvaṁśaṭīkā* which speaks of the last of them being "addicted to hoarding treasure" says that towards the time when he was dethroned "he, instead of any more hoarding wealth, was bent upon spending it in charities which he organised through the machinery of an institution called *Dānaśālā* administered by a Saṁgha whose President was to be a Brahman."[2]

The Buddhist *Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa*[3] has the same charities but they are set in an entirely different story. This book knows of no nine Nandas. It has only one single Nanda who gained the throne from the position of a prime minister, as though by a magical process, and who was a pious and sagacious man, a Buddhist who was yet a patron of Brahmans. This character is as far as can be from the Greeks' Xandrames.

The Nanda, known as Yoga-Nanda, who in the Kāshmiri tradition[4] is himself overcome by a magical spell practised by

1. *Aśoka and His Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1946), I, p. 47.
2. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-4.
3. Barua, *Op. cit.*, p. 43.
4. As preserved in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛihatkathāmañjarī*, two Sanskrit works usually dated to the 11th century A. D.

Chāṇakya against him and is supplanted on the th
Chāṇakya's protégé Chandragupta Maurya, has also no
lance to Xandrames, except that he is stated to be of th
caste, a Śūdra. There is too much ambiguity about him t
any appreciable comparison.

None of our historians accept the Kāshmiri tr
believing they have found better substance elsewhere. I
tradition has one notable point. In addition to Yoga-N
Pūrva-Nanda is mentioned. So there are two instead
usual nine Nandas or the one Nanda of the Mañjuśrī-mūl
Although, as Mookerjee[1] remarks, the relation b
the two is not specified and we are not told even what
Nanda's status is, nowhere except here—however vaguely-
have, as in the Classical accounts, just two figures of the
family. The stories which our historians prefer have,
them, the ninth and not the second family-member to
with Xandrames. The Kāshmiri tradition, while havi
appearance of *rapport* in its story with the Classical acc
serves yet by this stray similarity in number to show up an
inadequacy in the proposed Nanda-parallel.

Thus there is not a single element in this parallel tha
not break down. Both at the centre and at the periphe
alleged correspondence fails to hold together. And the
search for likenesses in the Nanda-legends appears a super
when we open the Purāṇas to seek out Xandrames in the p
between the fall of the Āndhras (Sātavāhanas) and the rise o
Guptas. For, there he stands in striking relief with a
recognisable physiognomy.

The Clear-cut Pre-Gupta Xandrames in the Purāṇas

The greatest initial recommendation here is that this f
whose historicity is not doubted by modern historians be
name which is the only one in the entire history of Ind
approximate to the name whose echo to "Xandrames" has

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

widely noted : "Chandramās." Pargiter[1] gives us, in a list of Nāga kings, from the Vāyu Purāṇa, of the post-Āndhra and pre-Gupta epoch the phrase :

Sadāchandras tu Chandrāṁśo dvitīyo Nakhavāṁs tathā.

In the third word we have surely a name sounding very much like "Xandrames". The complete phrase is rendered by Pargiter :[2] "Sadāchandra, and Chandrāṁśa who will be a second Nakhavant." He[3] cites in a footnote a variant from another copy of the Vāyu for the qualifying words. The variant runs : *Nakhapāna-jaḥ*, meaning for Pargiter "Nakhapāna's offspring".[4] He sees in "Nakhavāṁ" or "Nakhapāna" the Purāṇic version of "Nahapāna", the name of the Śaka ruler belonging to the Kshaharāta family whom Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi of the Āndhra dynasty destroyed. Modern scholars concur with him here, but not with his distinction between Sadāchandra and Chandrāṁśa. They rightly find in *tu* a sign of identity : if *cha* had been used the names would have applied to different persons. So they[5] speak of "Sadāchandra, surnamed Chandrāṁśa, who is described as a second Nakhavat." But never having questioned the current hypothesis about Sandrocottus, they have never connected Chandrāṁśa with Xandrames.

The qualifying words about Chandrāṁśa can themselves be a very important prop to the identification with Xandrames if we reject Pargiter's gloss and disjoin the words from Nahapāna the Śaka king. First, we must get the central term right : the Purāṇic term is not "Nakhavant" or "Nakhavat", it is "Nakhavān" and Pargiter[6] himself in the introductory note to the passage uses this very form. Now, it is extremely suggestive that a description of one whose name and Purāṇic chronological position lead us to identify him with Xandrames whose father was a barber should have the term "Nakha" in it.[7] "Nakha" means "nail" and in

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 49.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 49, fn. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, fn. 24.
5. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 169.
6. *Op. cit.*, p. 48.
7. I owe this observation to Dr. M. Venkataraman of Madurai University.

India a barber has to deal with nailcutting no less than with hair-cutting and actually one of the synonyms for "barber" is *Nakhakuṭṭa* ("nail-cutter").[1] In "Nakhavān", therefore, we are invited, as it were, to read the barber-idea. But it is apparently fused with another notion. The word signifies 'one who has nails" and with "Nakhakutta" in our mind we may interpret "having" in a double sense so that the name would imply "one who at the same time possesses nails to cut with and has nails in his possession by cutting them"—that is to say, a nail-cutter who wounds and tears his customer ; or, if we wish to reflect in brief the pun which appears to be in the Sanskrit *vān* in this context, we may say "a barbed barber". Such a *ślesha* or *double entendre*, accompanied by the adjective *dvitīyo*, "second", is just what would be appropriate in the case of Chandrāṁśa if he were Xandrames, since Xandrames, according to Curtius, "took after his father", the barber who, as we are told, had killed his royal patron and, patron's children too.

But it is not only because Xandrames was like his father in character and manner that Chandrāṁśa is affined to him : it is also by Xandrames's being the very next in number to his father in this respect that the Nāga king's affinity can be affirmed. *Dvitīyo*, "second", is a most pertinent expression. Both Xandrames and Chandrāṁśa, unlike Dhana-Nanda of our historians, come immediately after their fathers : they are both "second" in the family and not ninth. The rank common to them drives their equation home with a definitive accuracy.

In the variant *Nakhapāna-jaḥ*, which Pargiter renders by "Nakhapāna's offspring", we have the same suggestion of immediate succession. And, by exposing the absurdity of relating Chandrāṁśa to the Śaka Nahapāna as son to father, it clinches our interpretation. The barber-idea is even more evident here for, one of the meanings of *pāna*[2] is "protection" and *Nakhapāna* would connote "Nail-protection". But to get the full appositeness out of this word we must glance at the grammatical side of it. *Pāna* has the

1. *M. Monier-Williams*, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 524.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 613.

neuter gender : as it is, we cannot apply it to a man. It is a word like *śāsana*, meaning "mastery" or "subdual", which also being neuter cannot go into a personal name unless there is *ḥ* after it as in the well-known name of Indra, *Pākashāsanaḥ*, which that god carries as the subduer of or master over the demon Pāka. So the one whose offspring is Chandrāṁśa must bear the name *Nakhapānaḥ*. Our text does not contradict such an assumption, since the only instance in which his name appears is the word *Nakhapāna-jaḥ* and, when there is already *ḥ* at the end of a word, Sanskrit grammar will not allow another in the midst of the expression. The absence of *ḥ* after *pāna* is just what we should expect if the original name were *Nakhapānaḥ* to personify "nail-protection."

The purpose of employing this term instead of *Nakhakuṭṭa* would seem to be the demarcation of the barber in question from others of his profession : here was a barber who rose to a special post in the household where he worked and thus deserved a distinguishing appellation. And this compound applellation may be taken in an ironic double sense to yield the idea of protecting nails by means of nails. The aptness of the double sense will at once be seen if we remember Diodorus and Curtius. The father of Xandrames or Agrammes was really the nailed protector of nails, for he clove his way through everything to the supreme authority while doing his barber's job. In his relation to the sons of his sovereign he is actually spoken of by Curtius as setting up the "pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children" while planning to "put the young princes to death". In the word "guardian" we have actually the echo of the Purāṇic *pānaḥ*, "protector" : he continued to protect the princes' nails as their "guardian" when all the time digging his own, as it were, deep into their lives.

The Exact Chronological Position

Chandrāṁśa's chronological position too is just where it should be—if he were Xandrames—in the post-Āndhra and pre-Gupta interval. He is in a group of rulers whom the Purāṇas mention after naming Vindhyaśakti.[1] On the one hand we are

1. Pargiter, *op. cit.* pp. 72-3.

told of the Nāgas of Vidiśā, along with some other monarchs, and on the other hand we get Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra and Pravīra's four sons. Then we are informed of the cessation of the Vindhyaka family and provided with a list of various subsequent rulers and dynasties who are not distinguished in terms of time and whose beginnings must therefore be taken as simultaneous. Among them are the Guptas.

Chandrāṁśa stands with the Nāgas of Vidiśā. About them Pargiter's text[1] runs : "Bhogin, son of the Nāga king Śeṣa, will be king, conqueror of his enemie's cities a king who will exalt the Nāga family. Sadāchandra, and Chandrāṁśa who will be a second Nakhavant, then Dhanadharman, and Vangara is remembered as the fourth. Then Bhūtinanda will reign in the Vaidiśa kingdom."

As Śesha enters only as the father of Bhogin and is not directly put forth as a king of this period, it is with Bhogin we must start, setting him in time on a level with Vindhyaśakti in the post-Āndhra epoch. Sadāchandra being the same as Chandrāṁśa, we have three kings following Bhogin's name. But since here Chandrāṁśa is called the second barber, a first one has to be put before him on a level with Bhogin. Evidently this barber did not sit on the throne and thus remains excluded from the list of kings. The kings after Bhogin are only three. And yet there is the curious fact that Vaṅgara, mentioned next to Dhanadharman who is placed beside Chandrāṁśa, "is remembered as the fourth". However, the puzzle remains as long as we think of "the fourth" in terms of kinghood. Taking our cue from the word "second" in connection with Chandrāṁśa, we can clear the mystery by regarding Vaṅgara as the fourth "Nakhavān." Then, with Dhanadharman as the understood third, we have a quartet of "barbers, the last three of whom we may count either as successive or as contemporary, either as a continuing three-generationed family of "barbers" after the first or three sons following a father. If we accept the latter case, the eldest son Chandrāṁśa would rule in the seat of Bhogin's govern-

1. *Ibid.*

ment, the others in minor localities under him. All the three sons would constitute the next generation after Bhogin (and after the first "barber")—that is, on a time-parity with Vindhyaśakti's son Pravīra. The second generation after Bhogin—that is, on a level of time with Pravīra's four sons—would be Bhūtinanda. As nothing is said of his end we may presume that during his reign the Vindhyakas would pass away and the Guptas arise.

If Bhūtinanda belonged practically to the same generation as Chandragupta I, Chandrāṁśa would precede the latter in time precisely as Xandrames preceded Sandrocottus, and be a powerful monarch in the Indian interior in the middle of 326 B. C. when Alexander halted at the Beās and when, as we know from both Plutarch (LXII)[1] and Justin (XV.iv)[2] Sandrocottus was not yet king. And the fact that Chandrāṁśa's father, the first "Nakhavān" is not enumerated as a king identifies further his circumstances with those of Xandrames and supports the chronological position we have assigned him.

A Possible Objection on Grounds of Geography and its Answer

We are likely to be sharply pulled up here and told: "Don't you know that Xandrames was king of the Prasii no less than of the Gangaridai? The Gangaridai have been shown to be the people of the Ganges-delta in Lower Bengal and the Prasii to be the *Prāchya*, Easterners, and especially the people of Magadha with their imperial capital at Pāṭaliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks. How, then, can a Nāga king of Vidiśā have been Xandrames? And what of the war waged by Sandrocottus against Xandrames to win Palibothra from him? You do not even bring Chandragupta I into conflict with Chandrāṁśa. And, if you did, there would still be no Pāṭaliputra to be won, there would be nothing except the Vaidiśa a kingdom to be wrested. All this should cancel your equation of Xandrames with Chandrāṁśa."

We can cast grave doubt upon every one of the propositions advanced and as good as nullify their arguments.

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1. *The Classical Accounts...*, p. 199. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 193.

First, it is not so much with the Prasii as with the Gangaridai that Xandrames is associated. Except once in Diodorus,[1] the order of the two is not the Prasii and the Gangaridai but the other way round.[2] And in Diodorus himself we soon find Xandrames called simply "the king of the Gandaridai".[3] And, thrice after this, Diodorus speaks of Alexander wanting to make an "expedition against the Gandaridai".[4] In another context too he uses the very same expression.[5] The Prasii are nowhere on the scene. And nowhere is Xandrames associated with Palibothra. Sandrocottus is openly linked with the Prasii and described as king of Palibothra.[6] The contrast is glaring. Xandrames is eminently the ruler of the Gangaridai and, if the Prasii are to be linked with him, a small and peripheral part of them may be put under his sway, leaving out the great bulk of them and especially their central part in and about Palibothra. Plutarch[7] who, unlike Diodorus and Curtius, does not mention Xandrames by name goes even so far as to mention "kings" of the Gangaridai and the Prasii. This may suggest that Xandrames was not the sole opponent of Alexander and, although king of only the Gangaridai, was in command of the Prasii just by being the chief of a coalition against the Macedonian. As such, he was virtually the king of all the Indian interior that was banded to resist the invasion. But it is highly questionable whether in any genuine or literal sense he can be regarded as the monarch of Magadha with his capital at Pāṭaliputra.

Nor do we read anywhere of Sandrocottus going to war with Xandrames. In fact, the way he became king of Palibothra and the Prasii is never explicitly mentioned. A passage in Justin,[8] where from a non-king he becomes a king, is directly concerned

1. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 198.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 172-3.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 234.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 262. Also, I. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the great*, p. 408.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
8. *Ibid.*, 172-3.

only with his collecting an army and defeating the prefects left by Alexander and replacing them in the region of the Indus. In between there is a reference to instigating the Indians to "overthrow the existing government" or soliciting them to "support his new sovereignty"[1] but the context should suggest only the existing Greek government and the replacement of this old sovereignty by Sandrocottus's new one in the provinces of the prefects. As Mookerji[2] clear-headedly realises, whatever conquests of the Indian interior were achieved by Sandrocottus came afterwards. And we have no specific account of them : they are just assumed as a *fait accompli* by the time Seleucus crosses the Indus : that is to say, by 305 B. C. All we are told is that Sandrocottus was in possession of India when Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness abroad. It would be sheer wishful thinking on our part to bring in Xandrames and a war with him over Magadha, resulting in conquest of and coronation at Pāṭaliputra.

As to the location of Xandrames's Gangaridai, the general solution of the problem is supplied by Diodorus (VII. XCI),[3] He tells us that the Younger Porus into whose kingdom Alexander had moved after crossing the river (obviously the Acesines, Asiknī, modern Chenāb) next to the Hydaspes (Vitastā, modern Jhelum) in the eastward direction had fled farther east "to the nation of the Gandaridai". Surely, the Younger Porus did not flee to the Ganges-delta or even to the territory just beyond the Ganges. Diodorus brings Alexander up to the "Hypanis" (Hyphasis) and Porus is still uncaught. All we can say is : Porus had gone across this tributary of the Indus into the valley of the Gangetic river-system. E. R. Bevan[4] comments : "To the Gandaridai, says Diodorus. The people of the Ganges-region are probably meant."

"The people of the Ganges-region"—here Bevan appears to go to the heart of the matter. The very name "Gangaridai"

1. This variant is noted in *An Advanced History of India*, by R. C. Majumdar, H. C. Raychaudhuri, and K. Datta (London, 1946), p. 99.
2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 52-3.
3. *The Classical Accounts...*, p. 170.
4. *The Cambridge History of India* (1935), I, p. 370.

relates the "nation" concerned to the Ganges, and it would be strange that this "nation" should then be limited to the delta of the river rather than spread out to all the lands through which, together with its tributaries, it flowed.

It is a misconception that Megasthenes makes Lower Bengal the home of the Gangaridai. Diodorus (II. 37)[1] reports from him that the Ganges' final run to the ocean forms "the eastern boundary of the Gangaridai, a nation which possesses the greatest number of elephants and the largest in size," and this "overwhelming number" he gives as 4,000. Nothing is said here about the other boundaries ; we are not told that they confine the Gangaridai's home to the Ganges-delta. Taken along with the information about the Younger Porus's flight and the passage (VI. XCIII)[2] where we learn of Xandrames waiting on the eastern bank of the Ganges for Alexander, Diodorus's report creates the definite impression that the Gangaridai extended from the Beās eastward right across Madhyadeśa (the Middle Country) through the land of the Prāchyas into the delta of the Ganges. Although the Prāchyas, with their capital Pāṭaliputra, are themselves in the Ganges-region, the Gangaridai are to be distinguished from the Prasii as those people of this region in connection with whose king we never hear of Pāṭaliputra. The people of the heart of Magadha have, for political purposes, to be set apart from the Gangaridai.

Pliny (VI. 22),[3] dealing with the Ganges-delta, does not contradict Diodorus. He says that the "Gangaridae-Calingae" lived there : *i. e.* the particular section of the Gangaridai, which belonged to the widely diffused Calinga people. The other branches of the Calingae he (*ibid*) calls the Modogalingae and (VI. 21)[4] the Maccocalingae, the latter forming also a section of the many-tribed Brachmanae. The idea that the Gangaridai as a whole are to be located in Lower Bengal is due to a passage in

1. *The Classical Accounts..* , p. 234.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 350, note 8a. A discussion in some detail of the correct and the incorrect readings of Pliny is in J. McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Calcutta, 1920), pp. 137-8, fn.
4. *The Classical Account...*, p. 341.

Solinus (52.7)[1] being taken in isolation instead of in collation with Diodorus and Pliny. Solinus has no mention of the Calingae. But the moment we look at his military figures for his Gangaridae we notice that they are exactly the same as Pliny's. And, when we compare his number of elephants with that which Diodorus gives, we are shocked at his 700 as against the other's 4,000. Obviously, Diodorus is talking of the entire Gangaridai group, with the Ganges-delta merely their eastern boundary, whereas Solinus is talking of no more than a small section of it.

In view of those 700 elephants we cannot even regard the Ganges-delta as the central seat of the Gangaridai, leave aside its being their exclusive home. Can the central seat of a nation possessing the most numerous and the biggest elephants have only a piffling 700 when even small tribes like the Megallae[2] almost equal it with 500 and the Andarae[3] can actually boast of 1,000 and the Horatae[4] own 1,600 ?

No, we cannot without self-contradiction attach importance of any kind to the Ganges-delta. And, if Ptolemy (VII. 1. 81)[5] the geographer (C. 130 A. D.) locates the Gangaridai there, we must assume him to have gone astray because of some passage like Solinus's and to have missed the true sense of Megasthenes. Scholars have picked out several errors in his book : we may well take this to be one more.

The error should also be apparent as soon as we cast about for the full Indian original of the name "Gangaridai". If a single specific tribe is denoted, we should be able to find an ancient Indian one of much prowess and fame. None with any corresponding sound has been lighted upon. The term is evidently a general designation. We may suggest that it answers to a compound Prakṛit expression which may have been in colloquial use at the time : *Gaṅgāraṭṭha*, meaning "the Ganges-kingdom". A *raṭṭha* (Sanskrit *Rāshṭra*), according to the *Manusmṛiti* (ix, 226,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 457.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 343.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 342.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

251 ; vii, 134), was made up of different countries, *deśas*, or provinces called *janapadas* or *vishayas*, held together under a *rājā*. Thus the Gangaridai could very appositely be a collection or confederacy of provinces situated in the Ganges-region, ruled over by King Xandrames in 326 B. C. effectively in some places, loosely in others. By their very nature, they could not be confined to the Ganges-delta. And, if they had at all a central seat of power, though not of origin since they came from no single province, it must have been where, far from that delta, Xandrames was waiting for Alexander, all the military resources of his manifold *raṭṭha* mobilised to make the huge forces of men and chariots and animals the Classical historians have enumerated.

And, when the Gangaridai rather than the Prasii are repeatedly said or suggested to be Alexander's enemy under Xandrames, this king of the Indian interior must be placed principally west of Magadha, at least west of Magadha's capital Pāṭaliputra. There can be no objection to his having had like Chandrāṁśa, Vidiśā as his seat of government.

The Precise Geographical Situation

However, to make Chandrāṁśa's geographical situation precisely like that of Xandrames we have to show that, like Xandrames, he may have ruled over fairly extensive territory from a governmental seat at Vidiśā.

The Purāṇas, telling us of the time after the Vindhyakas have passed away, make the Nāgas flourish at other centres too, Kāntipurī, Mathurā, Padmāvatī.[1] The prevalence of Nāga rule over considerable portions of Northern India in both the pre-Gupta and the Gupta periods is also attested by epigraphic and numismatic finds.[2] It seems the Nāgas who are specified in the Purāṇas as rulers of one or another centre were really master over more than one centre and that the object of mentioning this or that centre was to denote the home or the principal city of each Nāga. Thus, "some coins bearing the name of Mahārāja Gaṇendra or Gaṇapa have been discovered

1. *Ibid.*, 2. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 169.

at Padmāvatī and also at Vidiśā and Mathurā"[1] which shows that this king of Padmāvatī may have expanded his influence over the rest of the Nāga centres. Again, the Vākāṭaka records which mention Mahārāja Bhāvanāga, whose daughter married a son of Pravīra's and who thus was a contemporary of Chandrāṁśa describes him as belonging to the family of the Bharaśivas "who were besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of the Bhāgīrathī that had been obtained by their valour" : the implication is "that their home was away from the Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) but that they extended their power as far as the valley of that river".[2] Another king, Vīrasena, who has left numismatic and epigraphic traces, is believed to have been a Nāga with his capital at Mathurā and with sovereignty over also Bulandshahr, Etah and Farrukhābād Districts as well as parts of the Punjāb.[3] The Nāgas, whether centred at Vidiśā, Kāntipurī, Mathurā or Padmāvatī, can be considered prominent rulers of the Gangaridai the people along the course of the Ganges—and Chandrāṁśa the Nāga of Vidiśā may be equated on geographical grounds with Xandrames.

The Nāgas and the Guptas

In the Gangetic valley west of Magadha the Nāgas are known to have been the immediate predecessors of the Guptas. Two of the Āryāvarta kings whom Samudragupta claims to have "extirpated" were Nāgas : Gaṇapatināga and Nāgasena who appear to have been a couple out of the nine Nāga kings said by the Purāṇas to have ruled at Padmāvatī.[4] Even during the reign of the Gupta dynasty the Nāgas continued in the province over which Xandrames ruled. Samudragupta's son, Chandragupta II, married Kuberanāgā who was a Nāga princess. "A Nāga chief named Śarvanāga was appointed *vishayapati* (provincial governor) and was ruling the Antarvedī district (between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā and between Prayāga and Haradvāra) under Skandagupta..."[5]

1. *Ibid.*, p. 170. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 169. 3. *Ibid.*, p. 171,
4. *Ibid.*, p. 170. 5. *Ibid.*,

Everything favours our giving to the extraordinarily close resemblance between "Chandrāṁśa" and "Xandrames" the utmost value it deserves on its own merits. The problem of Xandrames of the Classical accounts may be regarded as solved not only by the Purāṇas themselves but also by all other available evidence in conformity with the Purāṇic identification of Sandrocottus with Chandragupta I.

Sandrocottus and Pāṭaliputra

Arrived at this conclusion we may close with some remarks on Sandrocottus's acquisition of Pāṭaliputra. We have already noted that the Classical accounts do not permit us to look at Xandrames as king of Palibothra or to conceive Sandrocottus as fighting him. And this posture of events gains support from what we know of Gupta history and of Pāṭaliputra between the fall of the Āndhras and the rise of the Guptas. In D. R. Bhandarkar's considered opinion,[1] it is clear not only from the tradition of the clan of the Lichchhavis but also from one of the Nepāl inscriptions published by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji[2] that the Lichchhavis were ruling at Pāṭaliputra in this period. R. K. Mookerji[3] too favours this view. Now, with regard to Chandragupta I, there are two facts facing us: (1) according to the Purāṇas the territories which the first Guptas enjoyed, as if their rightful heartland, included Magadha and therefore Pāṭaliputra; (2) Chandragupta married the Lichchhavi princess Kumāradevī, whose image and name regularly appear on his coins as if to justify by his association with her his right to his new title Mahārājādhirāja ("Supreme King of Great Kings") which none of his ancestors had borne. From this pair of facts we may reasonably infer that Chandragupta came into possession of Pāṭaliputra by marrying the Lichchhavi Kumāradevī. No previous sovereign like Xandrames enters the picture of the Guptas' founder becoming king of Pāṭaliputra.

1. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 10.
2. *The Indian Antiquary*, IX, p. 7.
3. *The Gupta Empire*, p. 8.

Sandrocottus and Xandrames

However, as Sandrocottus who was overlord of the Gangetic valley, Chandragupta I has to be taken as conquering the territory owned by Xandrames and replacing whoever was master of Vidiśā at the time the founder of the Imperial Guptas established himself as the chief power in the Indian interior. Soon after mounting the throne of Pāṭaliputra he must have replaced the sovereignty of Chandrāṁśa's successor, Bhūtinanda, in the valley of the Ganges.

With this deduction we may end on an irony of history. Although Xandrames cannot be identified with any member of the Nanda dynasty founded by Mahāpadma and so Sandrocottus cannot be brought into contemporaneity with the last of the Nandas known to the Purāṇas, we still have a Purāṇic Nanda-sounding king confronting him in the dominion over which Xandrames had presided : Bhūtinanda.

POSTSCRIPT

In view of what we have said above about the Lichchavis' sway over Pāṭaliputra after the Āndhras and before the Guptas, we shall have partly to revise our Purāṇic treatment of Arrian's three republics in Part II of our series on Megasthenes and Indian Chronology. The Lichchavis were a republican clan. So one of Arrian's republics would fall between the passing of the Āndhras and the advent of the Guptas. This will necessitate certain readjustments in our historical vision. These readjustments, together with some other reconsiderations, we may set forth in a back-glance essay when we have completed our whole series.

भारतवर्ष-महिमा

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।
वर्षं तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः ॥ १ ॥
नवयोजनसाहस्रो विस्तारोऽस्य महामुने ।
कर्मभूमिरियं स्वर्गमपवर्गं च गच्छताम् ॥ २ ॥
अतः सम्प्राप्यते स्वर्गो मुक्तिमस्मात् प्रयान्ति वै ।
तिर्यक्त्वं नरकं चापि यान्त्यतः पुरुषा मुने ॥ ४ ॥
इतः स्वर्गश्च मोक्षश्च मध्यं चान्तश्च गम्यते ।
न खल्वन्यत्र मर्त्यानां कर्म भूमौ विधीयते ॥ ५ ॥
तपस्तप्यन्ति मुनयो जुह्वते चात्र यज्विनः ।
दानानि चात्र दीयन्ते परलोकार्थमादरात् ॥ २० ॥
अत्रापि भारतं श्रेष्ठ जम्बूद्वीपे महामुने ।
यतो हि कर्मभूरेषा ह्यतोऽन्या भोगभूमयः ॥ २२ ॥
अत्र जन्म सहस्राणां सहस्रैरपि सत्तम ।
कदाचिल्लभते जन्तुर्मानुष्यं पुण्यसंचयात् ॥ २३ ॥
गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि
धन्यास्तु ते भारत भूमिभागे ।
स्वर्गापवर्गास्पदमार्गभूते
भवन्ति भूयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात् ॥ २४ ॥

(विष्णुपुराण, अंश २, अ० ३)

CONSTITUTION OF THE VĀMANA PURĀṆA TEXT

BY

ANAND SWARUP GUPTA

[अत्र काशिराजपुराणविभागे वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संशोधितसंस्करणं निर्मीयते। अस्य संस्करणस्य निर्माणकाले वामनपुराणस्य ग्रन्थपरिमाणविषयकाः पाठविषयकाश्च केचन प्रश्ना उपस्थिताः। ते प्रश्ना अत्र लेखे विचारिताः। पाठनिर्धारणाय च कतिचिन्नियमा निश्चिता व्याख्याता उदाहृताश्च।

वामनपुराणस्य काश्मीरीयकोशेषु वेंकटेश्वरप्रेसमुद्रितवामनपुराणग्रन्थस्य २३-३१ अध्याया न विद्यन्ते, बंगीयकोशेषु दाक्षिणात्यकोशेषु च २३-४९ अध्याया न विद्यन्ते, उत्तरभारतीयदेवनागरीकोशेषु पुनः वेंकटेश्वरसंस्करणस्य सर्वे एव अध्याया वर्त्तन्ते। अतोऽत्र प्रश्न उपस्थितः—वामनपुराणग्रन्थस्य वास्तविकं परिमाणं किमासीदिति। नारदीयपुराणे वामनपुराणं भागद्वयात्मकं दशसहस्रश्लोकात्मकं च उच्यते। तत्र पूर्वभागस्य परिमाणं षट्सहस्रश्लोकात्मकं मन्यते, तच्च परिमाणं वेंकटेश्वरग्रन्थे उत्तरभारतीयदेवनागरीकोशेषु च विद्यते। लेखेऽस्मिन् इमानि तथ्यान्याधारीकृत्य वामनपुराणग्रन्थपरिमाणविषयको विमर्शः कृतः।

वामनपुराणकोशेषु बहुविधाः पाठभेदा वर्त्तन्ते, वेंकटेश्वरमुद्रितपाठस्य केचन श्लोका कोशेषु न विद्यन्ते, केचिच्च अतिरिक्ताः श्लोका अपि तत्र तत्र कोशेषु विद्यन्ते। तेषां पाठभेदानां मध्ये के पाठाः स्वीकरणीया कया च पद्धत्या इत्यपि प्रश्नोऽत्रोपस्थीयते। आधुनिके पाठसमीक्षाविज्ञाने पाठनिश्चित्यै केचन सिद्धान्ताः स्वीकृताः सन्ति। वामनपुराणपाठनिर्धारणायापि तादृशाः केचन नियमा निश्चिताः। अस्मिन्लेखे एतादृशा एकविंशतिनियमा व्याख्याता वामनपुराणश्लोकैरुदाहृताश्च। उदाहृतान् श्लोकांश्चाश्रित्य पाठनिर्धारणविधिरपि प्रदर्शितः, निर्धारितपाठाश्च बहुधा महाभारतादिग्रन्थानां पाठैः समर्थिताः।]

The All-India Kashiraj Trust has undertaken the onerous but essential and important task of preparing the critical editions of the Purāṇas through its Purāṇa-Department. The work of the Vāmana-Purāṇa edition has nearly been completed. The text has been constituted on certain principles of textual criticism adopted

for the purpose. But in the course of the constitution of the tex several textual problems also arose. It is proposed to discuss her these problems and the principles of text-constitution adopted fo settling the text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

A. Textual Problems of the Vāmana Purāṇa

1. Extent of the Vāmana Purāṇa text :

The first problem of the textual reconstruction of th Vāmana-Purāṇa, which confronts us, is concerning the extent o its text. Its vulgate text, as represented by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition, consists of 95 Adhyāyas and 5,815 ślokas. The position of the collated manuscripts in this respect is, however, as follows :

(a) All the collated Kashmirian manuscripts (1 Śāradā MS and three Kaśmīrī MSS, which are closely allied with the Śāradā MS) omit all the nine Adhyāyas (23 to 31) of the Veṅkṭ.-edn[1]., which contain the first *Vāmana-carita* narrated by Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa to the Ṛṣis, but included in the सरो माहात्म्य extending from Adh. 22 to Adh. 49. This first Vāmana-carita is, therefore, the secondary Vāmana-carita version as compared with the main Vāmana-carita version of the Vām. P., narrated to Nārada by Pulastya, the main narrator of the Vām.-P., and given in the last chapters from Adh. 73 to 95, in the form of the वामनप्रादुर्भाव and त्रिविक्रमचरित्र. The recently acquired Śāradā MS, from the B.H.U. Library, dated Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522), also omits these nine Adhyāyas (23-31).

(b) All the three collated Bengali MSS, (one from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the other two from the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta), and the two South Indian MSS, (one Devanāgarī MS, from the Adyar Library, Madras, and one Nandi-Nāgarī MS, from the Śṛṅgerī Maṭha, Mysore) omit the whole intervening interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣis,

1. The Vāmana-Purāṇa references are given here from its Veṅkaṭeśvara-Press edn., Bombay, Śaka 1851 (A. D. 1929). If the name of a Purāṇa is not mentioned in the reference Vām.-P. should be taken there as referred to. For the editions of the Purāṇas and other works referred to in this article see *Appendix*.

beginning from 22.47 and going up to the end of Adh. 49. It is to be noted here that no Grantha or Malayalam MSS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa exist in the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and the Keral University Library, Trivandrum. But we have received from the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore, some details of its four Devanāgarī MSS, D. 10419, D. 10421, D. 10422 and D. 10423, of which the last Adhyāya corresponds to Adh. 95 of the Veṅkṭ. edn., and is respectively numbered as पञ्चषष्टितमोऽध्यायः, सप्तषष्टितमोऽध्यायः, पञ्चषष्टितमोऽध्यायः and सप्तषष्टितमोऽध्यायः, which shows that these four MSS, also omit all the 27 Adhyāyas (23-49) containing the interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣis. Moreover, a recently acquired Telugu MS from Mysore also agrees with these Tanjore MSS both in the extent and in the name of the last Adh. as 'विष्णुपूज्ययोग्यवस्तुकथनम्'.

This interlocution of the Sūta and the Ṛṣis (from 22. 47 to Adh. 49), whole of which is found omitted in both the Bengali and the South Indian collated MSS, comprises the following topics :—

(1) *Adhs. 23–31.* The first or the secondary Vāmana-carita, which is mostly similar to the Vāmana-carita of the Matsya Purāṇa (244-246), and of the ~~Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa~~ Nārasiṃha, Bhaviṣya-Parvan ; and seems to be adapted from these.

(2) *Adhs. 32–42.* The description and Māhātmya of the tīrthas of Kurukṣetra, which is almost similar to the Māhātmya of Kurukṣetra and its tīrthas given in the Āraṇyaka-parvan, Adhs. 81 ff., and the Śalya-Parvan, Adhs. 37ff., of the Mahābhārata (cr. edn.).

As already mentioned above, this Māhātmya is related by Sūta to the Ṛṣis in the Vām.-P. but in the Mbh., Āraṇyaka Parvan, it is related by Pulastya to Bhīṣma, where Pulastya addresses Bhīśma as नरव्याघ्र (81. 23a), राजन् (81. 21c), धर्मज्ञ (81. 46a) etc., which addresses are quite appropriate for Bhīṣma. But in many and sometimes in the majority of the collated MSS, of the Vām.-P. too we find the same readings नरव्याघ्र (35. 2c), राजन्

(34. 42c), and धर्मज्ञ (35. 42a) as addresses used for the Ṛṣis by Sūta, which shows that these chapters of the Vām.-P., might have been based on the Mbh. The Padma Purāṇa, Ādi.-Kh., Adhs. 26 ff., has also this Māhātmya, which is almost similar to the Māhātmya of the Mbh. There, Nārada is speaking to Yudhiṣṭhira, and hence the above addresses (नरव्याघ्र etc.) are also appropriate there. Some of the ślokas of these chapters of the Vām.-P., are also similar to the ślokas of the Kurukṣetra Māhātmya of the Nāradīya Purāṇa (NP) II. 64, 65 or adapted from them. Hence it seems that in adding these chapters (32-42) in the Vām. P., the compiler might have utilised both the Mahābhārata and the Nāradīya Purāṇa.

(3) *Adhs. 43-49.* These contain the description and the Māhātmya of the *Śiva-liṅga*-s established around the *Sthāṇu-tīrtha,* which is a part of the *Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha* ; related by Sanatkumāra to Mārkaṇḍeya. These chapters have not yet been traced in the Mahābhārata or in the other Purāṇas. But in connection with the Māhātmya of Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha the Mahābhārata (III. 81. 127) says : 'गीतं सनत्कुमारेण व्यासेन च महात्मना:' Does it show that these chapters might have been contained in the Sanatkumāra Saṁhitā of the Skanda Purāṇa ?

All these 27 chapters in no way form an essential part of the main theme, the description and Māhātmya of Kurukṣetra and its Pṛthūdaka-tīrtha, related by Hari to the gods, where they (the gods) are advised to worship the *Pitṛ-s* for obtaining their mind-born daughter, Menā, as Himavān's wife. The main theme rather breaks by these intervening chapters (23-49) and the thread is again taken up in chap. 50. But all these chapters are given in all the Devanāgarī MSS of Northern India, and also in the collated Telugu MS ते 1 of the South.

The Kashmirian MSS, like the Devanāgarī MSS of Northern India, introduce after 22.46 the interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣis ; and in the Kashmirian MSS also one of the questions, which the Ṛṣis put to the Sūta, is about the birth of Vāmana ('उत्पत्तिं वामनस्य च' 22.48c). This query of the Ṛṣis is given in all the Northern Devanāgarī MSS and in the Telugu MS,

and also in all the Kashmirian MSS as noted above. But while the Devanāgarī and the Telugu MSS, give the first Vāmanacarita also, in reply to this query, the Kashmirian MSS, while containing the query about the birth of Vāmana, omit this Vāmana-carita. So this omission of the Vāmana-carita by the Kashmirian MSS, seems to be a deliberate one, keeping in view of the main Vāmana-carita of the Vām.-P., which is given in all the manuscripts of the Vām.-P., without exception.

Now the position about the extent of the text of the Vām.-P. comes to this :— Either we have to retain the whole of the interlocution of the Sūta and the Ṛṣis, as has been done in the Northern Devanāgarī MSS, and the collated Southern Telugu MS, or we have to omit the whole of it from 22.47 upto the end of Adh. 49, as has been done in the collated Bengali and the South-Indian MSS, other than the Telugu. But unless we collate or consult some Grantha or Malayalam MSS also, which are not yet available as already noted above, we cannot be sure about the real extent of the Southern text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. Moreover, quotations from these chapters are given in some of the old *Nibandha-s* (Dharmaśastra-Digests) e. g. Kṛtya-Kalpataru (Tīrtha-Kāṇḍa) of Lakṣmīdhara, which is perhaps the oldest available *Nibandha*, belonging to the 12th century A. D. The Tīrtha-Khaṇḍa of the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi of Hemādri is not yet available. Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita, a South Indian Nibandhakāra, also quotes some ślokas from Adh. 34 of the Vām.-P. in the Āhnikaprakaraṇa of his Smṛti-muktā-phala. So, nothing can yet be said with certainty about the exact nature of the extent of the Vām.-P. text in South-India. Under such circumstances it would not be safe to exclude these 27 Adhyāyas from the constituted text of the Vām.-P. simply on the basis of the scanty evidence available from Bengal and the South. And as already discussed above, only the first *Vāmana-carita* cannot be omitted on somewhat misleading evidence of the Kashmirian MSS. So we have to retain the whole portion containing the interlocution of the Sūta and the Ṛṣis.

Moreover, interlocution between the Sūta and the Ṛṣis in

the Vāmana-Purāṇa seems to be referred to by the Nāradīya-Purāṇa also as follows :—

इत्येतद् वामनं नाम पुराणं सुविचित्रकम् ।
पुलस्त्येन समाख्यातं नारदाय महात्मना ।।
ततो नारदतः प्राप्तं व्यासेन सुमहात्मना ।
व्यासात्तु लब्धवांश्चैतत् तच्छिष्यो रोमहर्षणः ।।
स चाख्यास्यति विप्रेभ्यो नैमिषेयेभ्य एव च ।
एवं परम्पराप्राप्तं पुराणं वामनं शुभम् ।। (NP. I.105.17-19).

Hence it may be assumed that there also existed some text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa which was narrated by Sūta Romaharṣaṇa to the Ṛṣis of the Naimiṣeya forest, and the above mentioned 27 Adhs. are remnant of that text of the Vām.-P., which somehow might have crept in the existing text of the Vām -P. which is narrated by Pulastya to Nārada, thus filling in the lacuna created by some lost portion of this Pulastya-Nārada Vām.-P. Many of the ślokas of this lost portion are found quoted in the various Nibandhas.

The Purāṇas have always served as the real encyclopaedia of the Hindu religion, and as such they have been revised from time to time, adding and incorporating in them whatever new or additional material could be available to the compilers and revisers of the Purāṇas in a particular period and place. The compilers or the redactors of the Purāṇas always retained and interpreted the old, but they were never averse to the new, rather they welcomed the new currents of thoughts and thus kept the Purāṇas upto-date and really useful for the Hindu society. In this way their extent has increased from two lacs to four lacs of ślokas.[2] And on account of these timely additions of the new material the Purāṇas have been more popular and have been more widely read and recited than even the Epics. Such timely additions made by the compilers or the redactors should, therefore, be considered as the great merit of the Purāṇas, and should be treated as the valuable literary treasure worthy to be preserved, and should not

2. For the extent of a Purāṇa see *Appendix*. Also *cf.* my article 'Purāṇas and their Referencing I' in *Purāṇa*, VII. 2.

be discarded, unless there are very strong grounds for their exclusion ; or unless they are proved as interpolated by the whims of some scribes or readers and reciters.

The real extent of the Vāmana-Purāṇa is said to be of ten thousand ślokas ('दशसाहस्रसंख्यकम्' NP. I. 105.1). According to the Nāradīya Purāṇa it had also the उत्तरभाग called the बृहद्वामनपुराण which consisted of the four Saṁhitās, viz. Māheśvarī, Bhāgavatī, Gaurī and Gāṇeśvarī, of one thousand ślokas each.[3] But this Uttarabhāga, known as the Bṛhad-Vāmana-Purāṇa, has not yet come to light, though quotations from the Bṛhad-Vāmana are found in some of the *Dharmaśāstra Nibandhas* (e. g. Vīramitrodaya-Pūjāprakāśa, and Ācāraratna-Devapūjā-prakaraṇa) and also in some works on the Kṛṣṇa-bhakti (such as of Jīvagosvāmin and Rūpagosvāmin).

So we have to be satisfied with the remaining extant *Pūrva-bhāga* only which should have traditionally an exent of about 6,000 ślokas. A large number of such Vāmana-Purāṇa ślokas are found quoted in the Nibandhas, as are not available in the printed texts and the available manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. But unless we get sufficient manuscript-evidence for them, they cannot be included in the constituted text ; they can be given in the appendix only.

2. Lacunae in the extant Vāmana-Purāṇa Text

During the course of the transmission of the text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa some portions of it seem to have been irretrievably lost ; e. g. :—

(1) The names of the rivers rising from the two Kula-parvatas, *Mahendra* and *Śuktimat*, are missing in the printed Veṅkṭ. edn., as well as in all the manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāṇa. In the *Bhuvana-kośa* chapters of the Purāṇas seven *Kula-parvatas*

3. *Cf.* इत्येष पूर्वभागोऽस्य पुराणस्य तवोदितः ।
श्रृण्वतोऽस्योत्तरं भागं बृहद्वामनसंज्ञकम् ॥
माहेश्वरी भागवती गौरी गाणेश्वरी तथा ।
चतस्रः संहिताश्चात्र पृथक्सहस्रसंख्यया ॥ (Np. I. 105. 13-14).

(mountain ranges) of Bhāratavarṣa and the rivers rising from each of them are mentioned. In the Vāmana Purāṇa, too, seven *Kula-parvatas* are mentioned as follows :—

महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः श(शु)क्तिमानृक्षपर्वतः ।।
विन्ध्यश्च पारियात्रश्च सप्तात्र कुलपर्वताः । (13-14-15)

But the rivers rising only from the five Kula-parvatas—Pāriyātra, Ṛkṣa, Vindhya, Sahya and Śuktimat—are mentioned (13. 23-33), and even here also rivers actually rising from the *Malaya*[4] are wrongly mentioned as rising from the Śuktimat[5] :—

कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी वञ्जुला[6] चोत्पलावती ।।
शुनी चैव सुदामा च श(शु)क्तिमत्प्रभवास् त्विमाः । (13-32-33)
(v. l. सिनी for शुनी; सुधामा, सदामा for सुदामा)

Thus actually the text containing the names of the rivers rising from the *Śuktimat* and the *Mahendra* is missing in the Vāmana-Purāṇa.

(2) Among the rivers rising from the Himavat (13. 20cd-23 ab) the names of the two important great rivers, Gaṅgā and Sindhu, are found missing, but they are mentioned in other Purāṇas, e. g. Matsya (114.20), Mārkaṇḍeya (57.16) and Vāyu (45.94).

(3) The first two pādas of 40.24 of the Vāmana-Purāṇa are missing in all the collated manuscripts and also in the Veṅk. edn., and so here the construction and the sense are loose, as will be clear from the following :—

ततः सरस्वती शप्ता विश्वामित्रेण धीमता ।
प्रवहच्छोणितोन्मिश्रं तोयं संवत्सरं तदा ।। २२
ऋषयश्च देवाश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसस्तदा ।
सरस्वतीं तदा दृष्ट्वा बभूवुर्भृशदुःखिताः ।। २३
तस्मिंस्तीर्थवरे रम्ये शोणितं समुपावहत् ।। २४

Here the Ś 1.24 has its last two pādas only. The first two

4. For the rivers rising from the Malaya see *Appendix*.
5. For the rivers rising from the Śuktimat see *Appendix*.
6. But in the Matsya (114. 29b) and Vāyu (45. 103b) the river Vañjulā is mentioned as rising from the Sahya.

pādas have been lost. But the Mahābhārata (IX. 42.1 ab) supplies this lost text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa[7] :—

ततः सरस्वती शप्ता विश्वामित्रेण धीमता ।
अवहच्छोणितोन्मिश्रं तोयं संवत्सरं तदा ॥ (41.37)
ऋषयश्च देवाश्च गन्धर्वाप्सरसस्तथा ।
सरस्वतीं तदा दृष्ट्वा बभूवुर्भृशदुःखिताः ॥ (41.38)
एवं वसिष्ठापवाहो लोके ख्यातो जनाधिप ।
अगच्छच्च पुनर्मार्गं स्वयमेव सरितां वरा ॥ (41 39)
(Adh. 41 ends here)

वैशम्पायन उवाच
सा शप्ता तेन क्रुद्धेन विश्वामित्रेण धीमता ।
तस्मिंस्तीर्थवरे शुभ्रे शोणितं समुपावहत् ॥ (42.1)

Here the texts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa and the Mahābhārata are almost similar, but the first two pādas of 42.1 of the Mbh. are not found in the Vām.-P. which are necessary to complete the sense of the last two pādas of śl. 24 (Adh. 40) of the Vām.-P., In the Mahābhārata the name of the तीर्थवर, referred to in the third pāda of its 42.1 above and also in the third pāda of śl. 24 (Abh. 40) of Vām.-P. (as quoted above), rightly and immediately precedes as वसिष्ठापवाह (in 41.39 ab), but it is also missing in the Vām.-P. here.

(4) In the first Vāmana-carita of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, 28.17 reads as follows :—

दैत्यानामपि सर्वेषां गर्भस्थे मधुसूदने ।
बभूव तेजसो हानिर्यथोक्तं परमात्मना (v. l परमेष्ठिना) ॥

But in this Vāmana-carita of the Vām.-P., there is no such previous mention by God Viṣṇu. Matsya-Purāṇa, however, supplies this lacuna as follows :—

गर्भस्थे मयि पुत्राणां तव योऽभिभविष्यति ।
तेजसस्तस्य हानिं च करिष्ये मा व्यथां कृथाः ॥ (244-48)

And then the similar text as in the Vām.-P., (28.17) :

दैत्यानामथ सर्वेषां गर्भस्थे मधुसूदने ।
बभूव तेजसो हानिर्यथोक्तं परमेष्ठिना ॥ (244 52)

So the Matsya-Purāṇa text is complete in this respect.

7. In some places the Vām.-P. also supplies a lost text of the Mahābhārata, and in some other places it gives a better reading than the Mbh. See *Appendix*.

In the second Vāmana-carita of the Vāmana-Purāṇa have the complete text :—

तवोदरे ह्यहं दाक्षे संभविष्यामि वै यदा ।
तदा निस्तेजसो दैत्याः संभविष्यन्त्यसंशयम् ॥ (76-41

And then :—

देवमातुः स्थिते देवे उदरे वामनाकृतौ ।
निस्तेजसोऽसुरा जाता यथोक्तं विश्वयोनिना ॥ (77-1

There are other similar lacunas in the Vāmana-Purāṇ All of them cannot be discussed here for want of space.

3. Some unaccountable and inexplicable readings

Some readings given in the majority and sometimes in manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa are not accountable or nable. A few such readings are given below :—

(1). ततो गच्छेदनरकं तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।
यत्र पूर्वं (वै) स्थितो ब्रह्मा दक्षिणे च महेश्वरः ॥ २२
रुद्रपत्नी पश्चिमतः पद्मनाभोत्तरे स्थितः ।
मध्ये ह्यनरकं तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यस्यापि दुर्लभम् ॥ २३
यस्मिन् स्नातास्तु पुरुषाः प्रमुच्यन्ते च पातकैः । (41 22-2

Here in 22d the reading दक्षिणे is given in one MS (दे 7) all other MSS read here 'ऋषीणां' which does not fit here. Ho reading came here in all the other MSS is not perheps accou unless we are able to trace these two ślokas in other Pu In the Mahābhārata (Āraṇyaka Parvan) also we hav description of the अनरकतीर्थ, and these same four Deities ar associated with it, but the directions are not mentioned there[8]

8. *Cf.* Mbh. III. 81. 146-150 :

ततो गच्छेदनरकं तीर्थसेवी नराधिप ।
तत्र स्नात्वा नरो राजन् न दुर्गतिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ 146
तत्र ब्रह्मा स्वयं नित्यं देवैः सह महीपते ।
अन्वास्यते नरश्रेष्ठ नारायणपुरोगमैः ॥ 147
सान्निध्यं चैव राजेन्द्र रुद्रपत्न्याः कुरुद्वह ।
अधिगम्य च तां देवीं न दुर्गतिमवाप्नुयात् ॥ 148
तत्रैव च महाराज विश्वेश्वरमुमापतिम् ।
अभिगम्य महादेवं मुच्यते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ॥ 149
नारायणं चाभिगम्य पद्मनाभमरिंदमम् ।
शोभमानो महाराज विष्णुलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥ 150

(2) प्राजापत्यं नेत्रयुग्मे रूपधारि (०रिणि) प्रतिष्ठितम् । (80.8 ab)

Here in connection with the नक्षत्रपुरुषवृत्त *Nakṣatras* (constellations) are mentioned as constituting the various limbs of Hari who has been conceived here as the नक्षत्रपुरुष (*Puruṣa* in the from of the *Nakṣatras*). The reading प्राजापत्यं is contained in most of the MSS and the Groups. Prajāpati is the lord of the Rohiṇī Nakṣatra, as is also clear from 5.32 of the Vām.-P. given in connection with the description of the कालरूपी aspect of Śiva, as follows :—

आग्नेयांशस् त्रयो ब्रह्मन् प्राजापत्यं कवेर्गृहम् ।
सौम्यार्द्धं वृषनामेदं वदनं प्रकीर्त्तितम् ॥ (5 32)

Here प्राजापत्य is clearly the constellation Rohinī as it occurs between आग्नेय (Kṛttikā) and सौम्य (Mṛgasīrṣa), the three forming the *Vṛṣa* Rāśi. So in the above text (80.8ab) *Rohiṇī* (Prājāpatya) is mentioned as residing in or constituting the eyes of the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa*. But in 80.3ab Rohiṇī is said to be the thighs of Hari or the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa* 'जङ्घे द्वे रोहिणीस्थिते'. Here रोहिणी is the reading in all the MSS. Rohiṇī (or प्राजापत्य), therefore, cannot again be mentioned as the eyes of Hari. But here, the two South-Indian MSS and the Kashmirian MS from Jammu (का 1) help us The two Southern MSS read :—'मृगशीर्षं नयनयो रूपधारिणि तिष्ठति' and the Jammu MS also reads :—'मृगशिरोऽक्षिणी'. And this reading मृगशीर्षं (or मृगशिरस्) is also confirmed by 80.24c.—मृगोत्तमाङ्गे नयने [पूज्ये]; the Matsya-Purāṇa also corroborates it as follows :—

'मृगोत्तमाङ्गे नयनेऽभिपूज्ये नमोऽस्तु ते राम विघूर्णिताक्ष' (Mt.-P. 54.)

The Vārāhī-Saṁhitā (a work on Astronomy) in connection with the description of the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa*, also confirms this reading as—'नासिका मघा मृगशिरो नेत्रे'.

Thus, in 80.8ab (quoted above) प्राजापत्यं is clearly the wrong and unsupported reading How the majority of the MSS came to have this reading here is really a mystery, which cannot perhaps be solved, unless we find in some old work of Astronomy or Vedic literature mention of *Prajāpati* as the lord of *Mṛgaśiras* constellation !

(3). दीपप्रधानान् नरकानन्धतामिस्रसंज्ञकान् ।
तीर्त्वा स भार्यया राजा (ज्यामघः) विष्णुलोकमगात् ततः ॥
तमेव चाद्यापि बले मार्गं ज्यामघकारितम् ।
व्रजन्ति नरशार्दूला विष्णुलोकं जिगीषवः ॥ (95, 62-63)

Here in 62c all the MSS read ब्रह्मन् (as vocative) in place of the reading राजा. But here Prahlāda is speaking to Bali, as is clear from 63a, so this address ब्रह्मन् for Bali is out of place, Bali has never been addressed as ब्रह्मन्. How all the MSS give this reading is not clear, unless these ślokas are traced elsewhere in the form of the interlocution between some different interlocutors.

There are some other problems also concerning the text-reconstruction of the Vāmana-Purāṇa; e.g. some readings have become so corrupt[9] in the MSS, that their sense has become quite vague or unintelligible. Similarly some descriptions and narrations in the Vāmana-Purāṇa need to be traced in other Purāṇas also so that their correct text may be constituted. There are also some mutually contradictory readings of a text in the MSS; e.g. वेदनाबुद्धिमुक्तः, वेदनाबुद्धियुक्तः (in 5.43), वन्दनं नीतिशास्त्राणां, निन्दनं नीतिशास्त्राणां (in 11.16), etc. But in this limited space it is not possible to deal with all such problems.

B. Principles adopted for the Constitution of the Text

For the purpose of the constitution of the text the following manuscripts of the Vāmana-Purāṇa have been collated:—

Kashmirian MSS

शा 1 = Śāradā MS, Q. 21. 224, No. 327709, from the Banaras Hindu University Library, Varanasi. First and the last folio missing.

का रा = MS No. 4012 (Steine Catalogue), from Śrī Raghunātha Sanskrit Library, Jammu (Kashmir). Script Kāśmīrī (or Kashmirian Devanāgarī). With Sanskrit commentary by Pt. Rāmacandra Bhaṭṭa, written in the time of Maharaja Ranvir Singh of Kashmir (some 100 years ago).

9. How some readings become corrupt in course of transmission is illustrated in the *Appendix*.

का 1 = MS, No. 3571 (Steine), from Śrī Raghunātha Sanskrit Library, Jammu. Script Kāśmīrī.

का 2 = MS, No. 227/425 (Mirikar Collections), from the B.I.S.M. Poona. Script Kāśmīrī (or Devanāgarī ?). Dated Saṁvat *Śrī Vikramāditya Śākaḥ* 1785 (A.D. 1728).

(A recently acquired Śāradā MS from the B.H.U. Library, Varanasi, No. 330188, dated Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522), has not yet been collated. It is being studied and compared with the already collated शा 1. It generally agrees with शा 1).

Bengali MSS

ब 1 = MS No. 3533–17–B–3, from the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, (H.P. Śāstrī's Catalogue Vol. V, No. 3989). Śaka 1729 (A.D. 1807).

ब 2 = MS No. 216, from the Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta, Some folios missing.

ब 3 = MS No 2086, Bangīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta. Very much worn out, hence illegible in some places. Text upto 91. 34 of the Veṅkṭ. Edn.

Devanāgarī MSS of Northern India

दे 1 = No. 54/153, from the Sarasvatī Bhaṇḍāra, Fort Ramnagar.

दे 2 = No. 14.351, from the British Museum, London.

दे 3 = No. 1447, from the Pensylvania University (U. S. A.). *Śaka* 1679 (A.D. 1757).

दे 4 = No. 78 of 1882-83, from the B.O.R.I., Poona. *Saṁvat* 1714 (A. D. 1657).

दे 5 = No. 19 of 1873-74, B. O. R. I., Poona. *Saṁvat* 1839 (A. D. 1782). स्वस्ति श्री महाराजाधिराजा। श्री श्री ५ रावल जी श्री मूलराजी व (वा ?) चनार्थं। श्री बीकानेरमध्ये ॥ (From the Post-Colophon).

दे 6 = MS Wilson 127, Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Only *Bhuvana-Kośa* Chapters collated).

दे 7 = E. 3584, India Office Library, London. *Saṁvat* 1862 (A. D. 1805).

दे 8 = E. 3585, India Office Library, London. (only *Bhuvana Kośa* Chapters collated).

दे 10 = Keith 6815, India Office Library, London. *Saṁvat* 1773, *Śaka* 1639 (A. D. 1717), might be of earlier date, *cf.* संवत् १७ ॥ ७३ ॥ वर्षं शाके ॥ १६ ॥ ३०६ ॥ प्रवर्त्तमाने पौषसितद्वादश्यां भृगौ दी. काशीरामेणात्मपठनार्थं परोपकृतये च मूल्येन गृहीतमिदं वामनपुराणं ॥ ६ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥ ६ ॥ (Post-Colophon).

दे 11 = No. 54/184, Sarasvati Bhaṇḍāra, Fort Ramnagar, Fairly written. Ślokas numbered.

South Indian MSS

ते 1 = No. D. 2263, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, Script Telugu. Incomplete, first 12 folios missing, extent from 6.47 to Adh. 94 of Venkt. edn.

दे 9 = No. 8B5 (Catalogue No.), (P. M. 2463), Adyar Library, Madras. Number of Adhs. 67, the last Adh. (67) corresponds with the last Adh. (95) of the Veṅkṭ. edn. *Granthas* 4750.

न 1 = Palm-leaf MS from the Śṛṅgerī Maṭha, Mysore (South India). Characters Nandī-nāgarī. Extent and number of the Adhyāyas like दे 9.

Besides these, some MSS have also been consulted and their readings and other details have been compared to some extent with the allied collated MSS ; *viz.*,

MS No. 4418 of the Gujarāta Vidyāsabhā, Ahmedabad. It agrees with का 1 noted above.

MS G. 844-58-B. 8 (H. P. Sastri's catalogue, Vol. V, No. 3990). Characters modern Kāśmīrī. It generally agree with का 2.

MS No. C-433, from the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Characters Nāgarī. It seems to be a transcript of some Telugu MS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, and agrees with our ते 1 ; in both these MSS Adhs. 84-88 of the Veṅkṭ. edn. are omitted.

Five Devanāgarī MSS B. 1983/D. 10419-B. 1587/D. 10423, all belonging to the Sarasvatī Mahal Library, Tanjore. The details of the last Adhyāyas of these MSS were kindly supplied by the Library. In extent of the text they (except D. 10420) generally agree with our दे 9 and न 1, as already noted before in Sec. A., and they name their last Adh. (= Adh. 95 of Venkt. edn.) as विष्णुपूज्ययोग्यवस्तुकथनं.

A recently acquired Telugu MS from the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, agrees, in extent and the name of the last Adh., with the above mentioned Tanjore MSS.

Vāmana-Purāṇa ślokas quoted in the various *Nibandhas* have also been collected, and ślokas and topics of the Vām.-P. have been traced in other Purāṇas and also in the Mahābhārata. This testimonia has also helped in settling some readings of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, but the main basis for the constitution of the text has been the evidence of the above noted manuscript-material.

According to their general agreement in readings, omissions, additions etc. the above mentioned collated MSS have been arranged in the following Groups:—

Group I = Kashmirian Group : शा1 का1 का 1.2.

(दे 5 also often agrees in readings with this Group).

Group II = Bengali Group : ब 1. 2. 3.

Group III = Devanāgarī MSS and the Telugu MS with which they generally agree : दे 1. 2. 3. 10. ते 1. (दे 10 sometimes agrees with GI.)

Group IV = दे 4. 7. 11. (These MSS sometimes agree with G II. दे 4. 7 often agree with each other. दे 11 sometimes agrees with दे 1 even in corruptions and mistakes.)

Group V = South Indian MSS other than the Telugu ते 1. दे 9. न 1.

In constituting the text one of the primary considerations has been that the constituted text should have at least some sense; Nīla-Kaṇṭha in his Commentary of the Mbh. (III. 83) remarks, 'पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमो बलीयान्' and hence 'पाठादर्थो बलीयान्'. It should be

assumed that the ancient authors, compilers or the redactors of the Purāṇas composed, compiled and redacted the texts that must have had some sense, though the sense of some of these texts might have become obscure or vague during the course of their transmission owing to the corruptions or whimsical changes in such texts due to the scribal carelessness or ignorance.

Keeping this main consideration of a proper sense in view, the probably genuine or the oldest text has been constituted on the following principles :—

1. The evidence of the majority of the MSS, is generally accepted.

2. The evidence of the majority of the Groups or the Versions is accepted, even if the total number of MSS of these Groups or Versions may be in minority as compared to the number of the remaining MSS.

3. The reading common to the geographically distant Groups or Versions is preferred. E.g. :—

(1) In 'उत्तरेण कुरोर्वर्षं:' (13.5a) कुरुर्वर्षं: is the reading in G I and G V only, but it has been adopted on account of the more geographical distance of these two Groups.

(2) In 'सतीमेनां' (21.18c) सती मेनां is the reading in G I and MS न 1. So it is adopted. Some MSS have सुतां for सतीं, which, however, seems to be an emended reading.

(3) In 'एष विघ्नसहस्राणि देवादीनां हनिष्यति' (54.73 cd) करिष्यति is the reading for हनिष्यति in G I and V, and it is also a more suitable reading here in this context. It is, therefore, adopted.

4. In constituting the text of a Śloka or a group of Ślokas, the readings of one Group or MS are, as far as possible, not mixed up with the reading of other Groups or MSS.

5. If the different Groups or MSS contain diverse readings in a text, then the evidence of that Group or MS is accepted which gives a correct or more suitable reading; e. g. in 57.91 ab the Bengali Group only gives a correct reading, and so it is adopted. [See below 7. (5)].

Here it may be noted that the Kashmirian Group often gives a correct or more suitable reading. It also supplies some missing texts—[See below 16, (1), (2)]. The B.H. U. Śāradā MS No. 330188, referred to below, is dated *Śaka* 1444 (A. D. 1522), and is thus the oldest MS available till now. It agrees with our collated MS शा1.

6. Sometimes a correct text is preserved only in one MS or in a very few MSS irrespective of the age of the MS or MSS; In that case, naturally, this text or reading is adopted. E. g. :—

(1) दृष्ट्वाऽग्निना तथैवान्ये देवाद्याः प्रलयं गताः ॥ (5.9cd).

Here दृष्ट्वा is the reading given in most of the MSS, which is clearly wrong and has no sense here. The correct reading दृष्ट्वाग्निना is given in न 1 only, and it is also confirmed by the reading दृशोऽग्निना given in दे **4.** So दृष्ट्वाग्निना is adopted.

(2) युष्माकं चाप्रसादेन दुष्कृतेन च कर्मणा ॥
पक्षोऽयं वर्धतेऽस्माकं यतश्च ब्रह्मराक्षसाः । (40.34-35)

Here चाप्रसादेन is the reading given only in दे 7; all other MSS read च प्रसादेन which has no appropriate sense here, and seems to be an emended reading. In the Mbh. (cr. edn., IX. 42. 16a), too, चाप्रसादेन is the reading adopted, though it is marked by a wavy line.

(3) यत्र पूर्वं (वें ?) स्थितो ब्रह्मा दक्षिणे च महेश्वरः ॥
रुद्रपत्नी पश्चिमतः पद्मनाभोत्तरे स्थितः ।
मध्ये ह्यनरकं तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यस्यापि दुर्लभम् ॥ (41.22cd-23)

Here दक्षिणे is the reading in दे 7 only, all other MSS have ऋषीणां for दक्षिणे. But दक्षिणे is the correct reading here, for other three gods are associated with the remaining three directions. So the reading of दे 7 (दक्षिणे) is adopted. The reading ऋषीणां is unaccountable and has no sense in this context.[10]

(4) तामसस्य मनोः पुत्रो दन्तध्वज इति श्रुतः ।
स पुत्रार्थी जुहावाग्नौ स्वमांसं रुधिरं तथा ॥

10. See also A. 3. (1) of this article, and fn. 8 above.

अस्थीनि रोमकेशांश्च स्नायुमज्जायकृद्घनम् ।
शुक्रं च चित्रको राजा (दन्तध्वजः) सुतार्थी चेति नः श्रुतम् ॥
(72.57-58)

Here चित्रको, चित्रशो, बिन्दुशो etc. are the readings given in all the MSS except न 1 which reads चित्रगौ (locative of चित्रगु which means चित्रभानु or अग्नि ; गो = भानु or रश्मि). This reading (चित्रगौ) of न 1 seems to be the only correct reading here. So it is adopted.

7. If the reading of a certain MSS is confirmed by some preceding or following text of the Vāmana-Purāṇa, then that reading is adopted inspite of the majority-evidence going against it. E. g. :—

(1) वसवोऽष्टौ हरं दृष्ट्वा सस्रुपुर्वेगतो मुने ।
सा तु जाता सरिच्छ्रेष्ठा सीता नाम सरस्वती ॥ (5. 2)

सस्रुपुः, सस्रुजु. etc. are the readings given in the majority of the MSS, but दे 9 gives the reading सुस्रुवुः which seems to be the only correct and proper reading here, as it is confirmed by the second half of this śloka itself.

(2) तद्भीतं (v l. भानुभी) राक्षसपुरं तन्नष्टं च यथेच्छया ॥ (15. 38 cd)

Here नष्टं is the reading in several MSS, (ब 1-3. दे 1. 2. 10), meaning that the city of Sukeśin was destroyed by the rays (भानुभिः) of the Sun ; but दृष्टं is the reading in several other MSS, which is confirmed by the next śloka (39) :—

स (पुरः) भानुना तदा दृष्टः क्रोधाध्मातेन चक्षुषा ।
निपपाताम्बराद् भ्रष्टः क्षीणपुण्य इव ग्रहः ॥ (15. 39)

Here the reading दृष्टः is given in all the MSS, and these readings दृष्टः and निपपात here refer to the city (पुरः) of Sukeśin, as is clear from the following ślokas 40, 43, 59, and 61 of this Adh. ; the word पुर has been used in masculine by MSS in 15. 8. So in the above text (15. 38 cd) the reading दृष्टं is more appropriate than नष्टं.

(3) ततो विनाकृता देवाः सेनानाथेन शंभुना ।
दानवेन्द्रेण विक्रम्य निशुम्भेन पराजिताः ॥ (21. 12)
.....

किं जिताः स्थ (स्था ?) सुरेन्द्रेण निशुम्भेन दुरात्मना । (15 ab)

.....

सा शंकरात् सतेजोंशं जनयिष्यति यं सुतम् ।
स हनिष्यति दैत्येन्द्रं शुम्भं च सपदानुगम् ।। (20)

Here in 21. 12d महिषेण is the reading for निशुम्भेन in several MSS; in 15 b some MSS read निशुम्भेन, some (दे 2. 4. ते 1) read शुम्भेन, but seven MSS of different versions read महिषेण; in 20 d महिषं is the reading for शुम्भं in most MSS. Between these two readings—निशुम्भ (or शुम्भ) and महिष—the reading महिष is, however, supported by 51. 7 c (पुत्रं महिषहन्तारं, all MSS) and 51. 18 d (महिषघ्नो भविष्यति, all MSS) and also by Adh. 58 in which the battle between Skanda and Mahiṣa is narrated.

It seems that there were two different demons of the same name *Mahiṣa*, the one was the son of the demon Rambha from a *mahiṣī* or she-buffalo (*cf.* 17. 51 ff), who was the associate of the demons Śumbha, Niśumbha, Raktabīja etc., and was killed by Goddess Kātyāyanī (*cf.* Adhs. 19-20; and 55. 1-18); while the other Mahiṣa was the brother of the demon Tāraka (*cf.* 58. 85), and an associate of the demons Andhaka, Tāraka, Bāṇa (Bali's son) etc. (58. 45ff.), who was killed by Skanda (58. 87ff.). The two *Mahiṣas* have been confused, and निशुम्भेन (or शुम्भेन) is the resultant wrong reading in Adh. 21; the scribes who substituted the wrong reading निशुम्भेन (or शुम्भेन) for the right reading महिषेण might have thought that because Mahiṣa had already been described in the previous Adh. (20) as killed by Kātyāyanī, he could not again possibly be mentioned in Adh. 21 as a participant in a later war with Skanda.

(4) वैशाखे च यदाऽष्टम्या मङ्गलस्य दिनं भवेत् ।।
तदा स्नानं तत्र कृत्वा मुक्तो भवति पातकैः ।। (41.24-25)

Here यदा षष्ठ्यां (for यदाऽष्टम्यां) is the reading in the Kashmirian MSS o. ly; besides these, दे 1. 4. 11. also read यदा षष्ठी. The reading of the Kashmirian MSS (षष्ठ्यां for अष्टम्यां) is supported by the further text of 41.28 cd.—अन्यत्रापि यदा षष्ठी मङ्गलेन भविष्यति—,

where षष्ठी is the reading in all the MSS. So षष्ठ्यां is the correct reading.

(5) When Skanda was anointed by the gods as the General of their armies to fight with the demons Tāraka, Mahiṣa, etc., he was given various Gaṇa-s or attendants by the Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Parvatas such as Hīmavān and Vindhya, Sarasvatīs (i. e. Nadīs), Kuṭilā, Kṛttikā-s, Ṛṣis, and also by the Tīrthas such as Pṛthūdaka, Cakra-tīrtha, Gayāśiras, Kanakhala, Puṣkara, Mānasa and Auśanasa (*vide* 57. 60-91). Now 57.91ab reads as follows :-

रुद्रमोक्षनसः प्रादात् ततोऽन्यान् मातरो ददुः ।

Here अन्यान् is the reading in the Veṅkṭ. edn. and also in several MSS ; 91b then will mean, according to this reading, that 'the Mātṛ-s then (ततो), gave [to Skanda] the others (i. e. the other Gaṇa-s); or 'the Mātṛ-s gave [to Skanda] others than these (ततोऽन्यान्).' In the Kashmirian MSS and in दे 4. न 1 the reading is 'ततोऽन्या मातरो ददुः' where अन्या (= अन्याः) seems to be corrupt and has no clear sense in this context. In the Bengali MSS ब 1-3, however, we have the reading 'ततोऽन्ये मातरो ददुः', which means—'then the others (i. e. the other Tīrthas) gave [to Skanda] the Mātṛ-s[11] or the female attendants. The following text (57.91 ed.-102ab), in which the other Tīrthas such as Soma-tīrtha, Prabhāsa, Indra-tīrtha, Udapāna, Sapta-sārasvata, Nāga-tīrtha, Kurukṣetra etc. are mentioned as giving various Mātṛ-s (female attendants) to Skanda, supports this reading of the Bengali MSS.

Hence the reading of the ब MSS only—'ततोऽन्ये मातरो ददुः'—is correct and appropriate here.

(6) At the time of the departure of Skanda to fight with Mahiṣa and other demons, Hari pronounced *svastyayana* (benediction)

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11. The word 'मातरो' here is an object of the verb 'ददुः', the nominative form (*Prathamā*) has been used here in 'मातरो' for the accusative form (*Dvitīyā*). For further discussion and illustration see fn. 20 below.

on him for his well-being and victory (58. 14-25). Śloka 18 of this *svastyayana* runs as follows :—

मरीचिरत्रिः पुलहः पुलस्त्यः क्रतुर्वसिष्ठो भृगुरङ्गिराश्च ।
मृगाङ्कजस्ते कुरुताद्धिमङ्गलं महर्षयः सप्त दिवि स्थिताश्च ये ॥ (58.18)

Here in 18c 'मृकण्डुजः' is the reading for 'मृगाङ्कजः' in the Kashmirian MSS. Now 'मृगाङ्कजः' means the planet Mercury (बुध) as he is regarded the son of Mṛgāṅka or the moon. But the name of a planet is out of place here among the names of the Ṛṣis. Moreover, in this context, the planet Mercury or Budha has already been mentioned earlier in Śl. 17 as follows :—

दिवाकरः स्वस्तिकरोऽस्तु ते सदा सोमः सभौमः सबुधो गुरुश्च ।
काव्यः सदा स्वस्तिकरोऽस्तु तुभ्यं शनैश्चरः स्वस्त्ययनं करोतु ॥

Budha (मृगाङ्कज), therefore, cannot again be repeated here. So 'मृकण्डुजः' (Sage Mārkaṇḍeya), the reading of the Kashmirian MSS, is more appropriate here.

8. When the reading of a Ms or of several MSS is also supported by some external source or testimonia, then that reading is adopted. E.g. :—

(1) नमो नमस्तेऽच्युत चक्रपाणे नमोऽस्तु ते वामनमीनमूर्त्ते । (3.22ab)

Hara praises Viṣṇu in 3.14-23. In 3.22ab as quoted above वामनमीनकूर्म (न 1), माधवमीनकूर्म (दे 9), and माधवमीनमूर्त्ते (का 2 ब 1-2 दे 4) are the variants for वामनमीनमूर्त्ते. The reading माधवमीनमूर्त्ते, however, is supported by the Nāradīya Purāṇa also as follows :—

श्वेतगङ्गां नरः स्नात्वा यः पश्येच्छ्वेतमाधवम् ।
मत्स्याख्यं माधवं चैव श्वेतद्वीपं स गच्छति ॥13
श्वेतमाधवमालोक्य समीपे मत्स्यमाधवम् ।14ab
... ...
आधाय तरुणं रूपं माधवं मत्स्यमाधवम् ।
प्रणम्य प्रयतो भूत्वा सर्वान् कष्टान् विमुञ्चति ॥16
(NP., II. 56)

So this reading माधवमीनमूर्त्ते is preferred to the other readings, and is, therefore, adopted.

(2) वीरभद्राय चिक्षेप चक्रं क्रोधात् खगध्वजः ॥
तमापतन्तं शतसूर्यकल्पं सुदर्शनं प्रेक्ष्य गरोश्वरस्तु ।
शूलं परित्यज्य जगार चक्रं यथा मधुं मीनवपुः सुरेन्द्रः ॥(4.48cd 49

Here in the MSS शा 1 कारा. का 1 'यथा मयो वीर (घोर, कारा.) वपुः सुरेन्द्रम्' is the variant for 'यथा मधुं मीनवपुः सुरेन्द्रः'. But these are the two contradictory readings. The reading 'यथा मधुं मीनवपुः सुरेन्द्रः' however, has some support in the Skanda Purāṇa (V. iii. 9. 36 38 as follows :—

स विवेश महाराज भूतलं ससुरोत्तमः ।
दानवान्तकरो देवः सर्वदैवतपूजितः ॥36
मीनरूपधरो देवो लोडयामास चार्णवम् ।
वेदांश्च दृष्ट्वा तत्र पाताले निहितान् प्रभुः ॥
तौ च दैत्यौ महावीर्यौ दृष्ट्वान् मधुसूदनः ।
महावेगौ महाबाहू सूदयामास तेजसा ॥
(तौ च दैत्यौ = मधुकैटभौ ; cf. *ibid* 33 cd).

But no source has yet been available in support of the reading 'यथा मयो वीरवपुः सुरेन्द्रम्'.

(3) नागदन्तास्थिशृङ्गाणां तत्क्षणाच्छुद्धिरिष्यते । (14.64ab)

Chapter 14 of the Vām,-P. deals with the ways and means of purifying various articles of daily use. This *Dharmaśāstra* topic is also included in several other Purāṇas, such as the Mārkaṇḍeya and the Vāyu. In the above half śloka the purification of ivory, bone and horn is mentioned. Here तत्क्षणात् is the reading in most of the MSS of the Vām. P. and in the two MSS of the Mārkaṇḍeya also, which have been collated up till now. This reading, however carries no sense, for it only means that these articles are purified *immediately*. But two MSS ब 2.3 read तक्षणात्, meaning thereby that these articles are purified by scratching or abrading; ( ). This reading तक्षणात् is confirmed by the Yājñavalkya-Smṛti Ācārādhyāya, Śl 185—'तक्षणं दारुशृङ्गास्थ्नां' and the Mitākṣara explains it as 'तक्षणं तावन्मात्रावयवापनयनम्'. The Vāyu-Purāṇa (78.32 makes this reading certain by using the synonym अवलेखन for तक्षण—'तथा चर्मास्थिदारूणां शृङ्गाणां चावलेखनम्'.

Thus the reading तक्षणात् is proved to be a correct one, and is, therefore, adopted inspite of the majority MSS evidence going against it. In fact, 'तत्क्षणात्' seems to be a wrong emendation of the *lactio difficilior* 'तक्षणात्'

(4) In 13.25 of the Vāmana-Purāṇa the names and the positions of the nine divisions or *Varṣa-s* of Jambu-Dvīpa are given. The nine *Varṣa-s* of the Jambu-Dvīpa are :— 1. Ilāvṛta, 2. Bhadrāśva, 3. Hiraṇvān, 4. Kiṁpuruṣa, 5. Bhārata, 6. Harivarṣa, 7. Ketumāla, 8. Ramyaka, and 9. Kuru-vaiṣa.

Now in the MSS of the Vām.-P. a confusion exists between the positions of the two *Varṣa-s*, viz. Hiraṇvān and Kiṁpuruṣa. The text of the Veṅkṭ. edn. is as follows :—

पूर्वदक्षिणतो वर्षो हिरण्मान् राक्षसेश्वर । 11 (13. 3cd)
पूर्वमुत्तरतो रम्यो वर्षः किंपुरुषः स्मृतः ॥ (13. 5cd)

[*v. l.* –3c) to be given and discussed below. –3d) हिरण्वान् (most MSS), हिरण्यो (G I or Kashmīrian MSS) for हिरण्मान्. –5c) पूर्वं उत्तरतो (G III or दे 1. 2. 3. 10. ते 1), पूर्वोत्तरे (G V or the two South-Indian MSS), उत्तरपूर्वतो (ब 1. 2) for पूर्वमुत्तरतो.]

In 3c, only the two MSS दे 4. 7 read पूर्वं उत्तरतो वर्षो (दे 4 पूर्व-उत्तरतश्चापि) for पूर्वदक्षिणतो वर्षो, all the remaining MSS have the same text as that of the Veṅkṭ given above. In 5 cd one MS का. gives somewhat defferent reading as 'भारताद्उत्तरे वर्षं किंपौरुषं मनोरमम्', and the *ten* MSS (का 1. का 1. 2 ब 3 दे 4—8. 11) omit 5cd altogether, so that the text containing the name and position of Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa is missing in these ten MSS, except in दे 4 which gives after 3 cd an additional half-śloka—'पूर्वदक्षिणतश्चापि किंनरो वर्षं उच्यते ।'

So, according to these readings the positions of the two Varṣa-s may be summed up as follows :—

Hiraṇvān (or Hiraṇya) Varṣa:

Situated { in East-South (according to all MSS except दे 4. 7)
in East-North (according to दे 4. 7 only).

Kiṁpuruṣa (or Kiṁnara) Varṣa:

Situated { in East-North (or North-East) (Most MSS)
in East-South (according to वे 4 only)
to the North of Bhārata (कारा. only).

Thus, there is the confusion between the positions of these two *Varṣa-s*. In order to ascertain their right positions and then to decide the correct reading we have to depend on the evidence of the other Purāṇas. Several Purāṇas contain the chapters on the *Bhugola* or *Bhuvana-Kośa*, and in those chapters the position of each of the nine Varṣa-s of Jambu-dvīpa is also given[12].

The right position of each of these two Varṣa-s—Hiraṇvān and Kiṁpuruṣa—can be ascertained only when studied in relation to the different positions of the other Varṣa-s also. Fortunately, the Purāṇas, containing the Bhuvana-koṣa chapters, are almost unanimous as regards the position of the nine Varṣa-s of Jambu-dvīpa. The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (II. 1. 15-32; 2. 11-15) gives the following account of these nine Varṣa-s :—

"The first ruler of Jambu-dvīpa was Āgnīdhra, who was the son of Priyavrata and grandson of Manu Svāyambhuva. Āgnīdhra had nine sons, *viz.* 1. Nābhi, 2. Kiṁpuruṣa, 3. Harivarṣa, 4. Ilāvṛta, 5. Ramya, 6. Hiraṇvān, 7. Kuru, 8. Bhadrāśva and 9. Ketumāla. There were also the nine Divisions or Varṣa-s of Jambu-dvīpa which were known by the names of their *Varṣa-parvatas*, i. e. the Parvata-s or Mountains which separated these nine Varṣa-s from each other. Āgnīdhra gave each of these nine Varṣa-s to each of his nine sons as follows :—

1. *Hima-Varṣa* (i. e. the Varṣa containing the Himavān mountain) to Nābhi, whose grandson was Bharata, after whose name this Varṣa began to be known as *Bhārata-Varṣa*. ;
2. *Hemakūṭa-Varṣa* to Kiṁpuruṣa, and so this Varṣa was also known as *Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa* ;
3. *Naiṣadha-Varṣa* (i. e. the Varṣa containing the Niṣadha Varṣa-Parvata) to Harivarṣa, and so it was also known as *Harivarṣa-Varṣa* ;

12. For the references to Bhuvana-Kośa chapters of the Purāṇas and the position of the nine Varṣa-s of Jambu-Dvipa see *Appendix*.

4. The Varṣa containing the Meru in the middle was given to Ilāvṛta, and hence it was known as *Ilāvṛta-Varṣa.*

5. The Varṣa containing the *Nīla* Varṣa-parvata was givenn to Ramya, and was known as *Ramyaka-Varṣa.*

6. *Śveta-Varṣa* (containing the Śveta Varṣa-parvata) was given to Hiraṇvān, and hence was also known as *Hiraṇvān*-or *Hiraṇmaya*-Varṣa ;

7. The Varṣa situated in the North of the *Śṛṅgavān Varṣa-Parvata* was given to Kuru, and hence was known as *Kuru-Varṣa* or *Uttara-Kuru-s* ;

8. The Varṣa situated *to the East of the Meru* was given to Bhadrāśva, and hence was known as *Bhadrāśva-Varṣa* ;

9. The *Gandhamādana-Varṣa* (situated *to the West of the Meru* was given to Ketumāla and hence was known as *Ketumāla-Varṣa.*"

It is now clear that *Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa* contains the *Hemakūṭa* Varṣa-parvata, and is, therefore, associated with it. Similarly, *Hiraṇvān-Varṣa* contains the *Śveta* Varṣa-parvata and is, therefore, associated with it. The same account of these Varṣas and Varṣa-parvatas are given by the other Purāṇas also which contain the Bhuvanakośa chapters.

Now the positions of the *Varṣa-parvatas* are mentioned in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa as follows :—

हिमवान् हेमकूटश्च निषधश्चास्य दक्षिणे ।
नीलः श्वेतश्च शृङ्गी च उत्तरे वर्षपर्वताः ॥ (II. 2. 10)
(अस्य = मेरोः ; *ibid.* śl. 7–9).

The Garuḍa Purāṇa (54.8) also mentions the same positions of these Varṣa-parvatas, and in the same words as the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa. Other Purāṇas also corroborate these positions.

So *Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa* which is associated with the Hemakūṭa is situated to the *South of Meru,* or to the *South East* (East-South) as given in the MS. दे 4 of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. And similarly, *Hiraṇvān-Varṣa* (v.l. *Hiraṇmaya-Varṣa,* Viṣṇu P. II.2.13 ; *Hiraṇya-Varṣa,* Kashmirian MSS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa), is situated to

the *North of the Meru,* or to the *North-East* as given in the two MSS दे 4. 7.

Thus, the reading of दे 4.7 is correct as regards the position of Hiraṇvān-Varṣa; similarly the reading of दे 4 is correct regarding the position of Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa.

According to the readings of दे4. 7 (for the position of Hiraṇvat or Hiraṇya Varṣa), and the reading of दे 4 (for the position of Kiṁnara or Kiṁpuruṣa Varṣa) the positions of these nine Varṣas of Jambu-Dvīpa in the order of the Directions from the Meru, then, would be as follows :

1. In the Middle (of the Jambu Dvīpa)—Ilāvṛta-Varṣa (with the Meru)[13];
2. In the East (of the Meru)—Bhadrāśva-Varṣa (with the Mālyavat)[14];
3. In the East-North—Hiraṇvat-Varṣa (with the Śveta-Varṣa Parvata) ;
4. In the East-South — Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa (with the Hemakūṭa) ;
5. In the South—Bhārata-Varṣa (with the Himavat) ;
6. In the South-West—Harivarṣa-Varṣa (with the Niṣadha)
7. In the West—Ketumāla-Varṣa (with the Gandha-mādana)[15];
8. In the West-North—Ramyaka-Varṣa (with the Nīla);
9. In the North—Kuru-Varṣa (also called Uttarāḥ

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13. The Varṣa-Parvatas as associated separately with each Varṣa are given here within brackets, and according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (II. 1. 18-23, 32), Garuda-Purāṇa (54. 6-8) etc. The Vāmana-Purāṇa however, does not mention in this conection the Meru and the other Varṣa-Parvatas.

14-15. For the association of the Mālyavat and the Gandha-mādana meuntains respectively with Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla *cf.* Vāyu. P. (38. 44-45) :—

वर्षं माल्यवतं चापि भद्राश्वाय न्यवेदयत् ।
गन्धमादनवर्षं तु केतुमाले न्यवेदयत् ॥

Kuravaḥ[16] according to the Viṣṇu and some other Purāṇas) (with Śṛṅgavat).

Thus, according to the reading of दे 4. the description of the positions of these nine Varṣa-s ends with the North, as in the other Purāṇas. Those MSS of the Vām-P. (including दे 7) which omit the mention of Kiṁnara-Varṣa, also end this description with the North. But in the MSS which mention Kiṁnara-Varṣa as situated in the North-East this description ends with the North-East and not with the North.

The readings of दे 4. 7 regarding the position of Hiraṇvat-Varṣa and of दे 4 regarding the position of Kiṁnara or Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa are, therefore, correct, while the readings of the remaining MSS for the position of these two Varṣa-s—mentioning Hiraṇvat as situated in the East-South and Kiṁpuruṣa in the North-East—are not corroborated by the other Purāṇas.[17]

9. Sometimes an originally correct reading becomes corrupt during transmission, and then later on this corrupt reading is also wrongly emended; or the correct reading itself, if it happens to be a *lacio difficilior*, is wrongly emended. In that case the original correct reading is settled (a) by the help of some other

16. *Cf.*, for example, the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, II. 2. 14—'उत्तराः कुरवश्चैव यथा वै भारतं तथा.'

17. The Garuḍa-Purāṇa, however, gives the following positions of these two Varṣa-s :—

पूर्वदक्षिणतो वर्षो हिरण्वान् वृषभध्वज ॥
ततः कि पुरुषो वर्षो मेरोर्दक्षिणतः स्मृतः
भारतो दक्षिणे प्रोक्तो हरिर्दक्षिणपश्चिमे ॥ (G.P., 55.1-2)

The Garuḍa Purāṇa text (55. 1 cd) for the position of 'हिरण्वान्' Varṣa tallies with the text of the majority of the Vāmana-Purāṇa MSS. But this text of the Garuḍa-Purāṇa is wrong, for, the position of the श्वेत Varṣa-Parvata with which the Garuḍa Purāṇa associates हिरण्वान् (in 54. 1 1) is given in the north of the Meru in the GP itself (54. 8 ef) : 'नीलः श्वेतश्च शृङ्गी च उत्तरे वर्षपर्वताः'. The position of the 'किंपुरुष' Varṣa is given in the South, which nearly agrees with the reading of दे 4 of the Vam. P. in this respect,

preceding or following ślokas, or (b) by the help of some other external evidence, or (c) by the context and sense. E.g. :—

(1) आरुह्य वलभीं तास्तु समुदैक्षन्त सर्वशः ॥ (65.115c d)

Here 'वलभीं' is the reading in several MSS; in some MSS, however, the *Anusvāra* has disappeared and the reading, therefore, has become 'वलभीतास्तु' which has been emended in some other MSS, however, as 'बहुभीतास्तु'. But cf. Śl. 119—

इत्येवमुक्त्वा वचनं वलभ्या अवतीर्य च ।
समासन्ताऽग्रतः शम्भोर्गायन्ती गीतकाँऽछुभान् ॥ (65 119)

The reading 'वलभीं तास्तु' in 115c is, therefore, confirmed, and the other readings 'वलभीतास्तु', बहुभीतास्तु are corrupt or wrongly emended.

(2) शातद्रवा ललित्थाश्च पारावतसमूषकाः (13.39 ab)

These are the peoples or Janapadas of the Uttarāpatha. In the Kashmirian MSS we have the reading 'शीतद्रवाः' for 'शातद्रवाः'. But in the Mārk.-P. (57.37a) the reading is 'शतद्रुजाः'. So, in 39a above 'शातद्रवाः' (शतद्रु+अण्) is the correct reading ; 'शीतद्रवाः' is a wrong emendation and is, therefore, corrupt.

(3) ततः सीतावनं गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः ॥ (35.44 cd)

The Veṅkṭ. reading 'सीतावनं' is contained in दे 1.2. ते 1 also, but in some MSS the reading is 'सीतवनं' and in some other MSS (दे 4 7) it is 'शीतवनं'. It is clear here that the reading 'सीतावन' got corrupted as 'सीतवनं' and then again this latter reading was emended as 'शीतवनं'.

Or, reverse may be the case. The original reading might have been the 'शीतवनं', which was corrupted as 'सीतवनं', and then 'सीतवनं' was emended as 'सीतावनं'. In the cri. edn. of the Mbh. (III. 81. .) we have also the reading 'शीतवनं'. The Veṅkṭ. edn. in 34.5 cd also reads 'पुण्यं शीतवनं नाम सर्वकल्मषनाशनम्'. This reading 'शीतवनं' here (in 34.5 cd of the Veṅkṭ. edn.) is contained in शा 1. का 1.2. दे 4.10 also, but दे 2.3 read 'सीतवनं' and दे 1.7.11 read सीतावनं.

Several MSS of the Vām.-P. viz. क्षा 1 का 1.2 दे 1.5.11, read in 35.44c 'शिववनं' for 'सीतावनं'. But the reading शिववनं' is not found in the MSS of the Mbh.

(4) पूर्वं गयेन क्षितिपेन यत्र इष्टोऽश्वमेधः शतशः सुदक्षिणः।
मनुष्यमेधोऽपि सहस्रकृत्वस्तथा पुरा दुर्जयनः सुरारिभिः॥ (76.15)

Here 'नरेन्द्रसूयः' (= राजसूयः) is the reading in दे 11 and ब 3 for 'मनुष्यमेधः', which gets corrupted or wrongly emended as 'नरेन्द्रसूर्यः' (in Kashmirian MSS and दे 5), and 'नरेन्द्रसूनुः'. etc.

(5) हनौ पुनर्वसुश्चोक्तो नासा मैत्रमुदाहृतम्॥ (80.7 cd)

Here the मैत्र *Nakṣatra* is mentioned as the nose of the *Nakṣatra-Puruṣa* Viṣnu. Mitra is the lord of the constellation Anurādhā ; so here Anurādhā has been supposed as the nose of the Nakṣatra-Puruṣa. It is the reading in several MSS also. But 80.5a reads as 'ऊरु (उरः ?) संस्था चानुराधा' and again in 80.17 c we have 'अनुराधासु वक्षोऽथ' and in the Matsya-P. also 'अनुराधासु उरस्थलमेव पूज्यम्' (Adh. 54). So the reading 'मैत्रं' above is wrong. But in some MSS we have the reading 'पैत्रं' for 'मैत्रं'. *Pitṛ*-s are the lords of the constellation Maghā, and in 80.24 a we have 'मघासु नासिका पूज्या'. So the constellation *Maghā* is the nose of the Nakṣatra-Puruṣa, and 'पैत्रं' is the correct reading in 83.7 d above, which was easily corrupted paleographically as 'मैत्र'.

10. Older or less familiar readings are preferred. E. g. :—

(1) त्रैलोक्यराज्यमाच्छिद्य बलेरिन्द्राय यो ददौ (1.1)

Here 'आच्छिद्य' is the reading in the MSS of G III and GV, 'आकृष्य' in the MSS of the Kashmirian group and आक्षिप्य' is the reading in का 2. दे 4.5.7. The reading 'आक्षिप्य' in the sense of 'taking off' or 'taking away' seems to be older or less familiar than आच्छिद्य or आकृष्य ; Monier Williams refers the use of आक्षिप् in this sense to Mahābhārata. So this reading आक्षिप्य is preferred here.

(2) ब्रह्महत्याऽस्मि संप्राप्ता मा प्रतीच्छ त्रिलोचन॥ (4.4 cd)

Here in 4c 'ब्रह्मवध्या' is a variant in Several MSS. This

reading is preferred to 'ब्रह्महत्या' which is a more familiar reading, compare also :

दुस्तरा परवध्याऽपि स्ववध्याऽप्यतिदुस्तरा ॥ (17.49 cd)

Where all the MSS read परवध्या and स्ववध्या.

(3) 'नाभिस्थानं शुभाकारं' (6.99 a)

Here the reading 'नाभिस्थानं' is contained in दे 1-4. 9. 10 also. But the MSS शा 1. का 1. 2. ब 1. 2. दे 1 1 read 'नाहस्थानं' (meaning the place where the lower garment is tied (from √नह्). The reading 'नाहस्थानं' being less familiar, besides being contained in different versions, is, therefore, preferable.

11. *Grammatical aberrations* abound in the Epics and the Purāṇas. They are sometimes due to their archaism, sometimes to the influence of Prākṛta, but mostly they are due to some metrical exigencies, for, grammatical correctness has often been sacrificed for the correctness of metre. But such grammatical aberrations are often found changed to their regular Pāṇinian forms in several MSS; and sometimes they are even wrongly emended in some other MSS; *hiatus* between two vowels is also generally removed by the insertion of such particles as तु, च, हि etc.; similarly, cases of *double-sandhi*-s are found emended by change of construction or in some other ways[18] *Hiatus, double sandhi-s* and other *grammatical aberrations* are, therefore, older than such emendations.

In the constitution of the text, therefore, *hiatus* should be preferred to vowel-*sandhi-s* or to the insertion of particles (तु, च, हि etc.), and the irregular *double-sandhi*-s to the regular Pāṇinian *Sandhi*-s; similarly, other grammatical aberrations, if not proved to be the scribal mistakes, should be preferred to their regular Pāṇinian forms. E. g. :—

(1) *Hiatus* :

तैर्विमिश्रा जनपदा म्लेच्छाश्चार्याश्च भागशः ॥ (13.19 cd)

18. For the detailed discussion of hiatus, double *Sandhi-s* and other grammatical aberrations see my article "पुराणेष्वपाणिनीयप्रयोगाः" in *Purāṇa*, IV. 2 (July, 1962), pp. 277-296.

The Venkṭ-reading 'म्लेच्छाश्चार्यश्च' is also contained in some of the MSS, but some MSS have the reading 'म्लेच्छा चार्यश्च'; while the MS दे 4 reads 'म्लेच्छा आर्यश्च'. Now it is clear that this reading of दे 4 containing the *hiatus* must be the original one, for an attempt seems to be made later on to remove the hiatus by inserting the particle 'च', and thus the reading 'म्लेच्छा आर्यश्च' became 'म्लेच्छा चार्यश्च'. But this emended reading 'म्लेच्छा चार्यश्च' is wrong according to the rules of the *Sandhi*-s, so it was further emended to become 'म्लेच्छाश्चार्यश्च'.

Thus म्लेच्छा आर्यश्च > म्लेच्छा चार्यश्च > म्लेच्छाश्चार्यश्च must have been the process. Hence the original reading was 'म्लेच्छा आर्यश्च', which contained the *hiatus*, although the *sandhi* was regular according to the grammatical rules of Pāṇini.

(2) *Double-Sandhi* :

जलोपरि महीयं हि नौरिवास्ते सरिज्जले ।
तस्योपरि च देवेशो ब्रह्मा शैलेन्द्रमुत्तमम् ॥
कर्णिकाकारमत्युच्चं स्थापयामास सत्तमः । (11.31-32 ab)

The reading in दे 4 is 'तस्या (मह्याः) उपरि', while in दे 7 it is 'तस्यामुपरि' for 'तस्योपरि' in 31 c. Both these readings are the results of a later attempt to emend the *double-sandhi* existing in 'तस्योपरि' which is the reading in most of the MSS also. This reading can be analysed as follows :

तस्योपरि < तस्या उपरि < तस्याः उपरि.

Thus, the reading 'तस्योपरि' containing a *double-sandhi* in तस्या उपरि is older and is therefore preferrable. The reading 'तस्योपरि' is probably due to the metrical exigency.

(3) *Grammatical aberrations* (other than those of *sandhi-s*) :

(a) *Liṅga-vyatyaya* (Reversion of gender) :

(i) ततो गतायां शरदि प्रबुद्धे चैव केशवे । (2.7 ab)

All the MSS here read 'व्यतीते शरदि' for 'गतायां शरदि'. The word 'शरद्' (Autumn) in Sanskrit is feminine, so the reading

'व्यतीते शरदि' in masculine is a case of *liṅga-vyatyaya*, and may be original or older reading.

(ii) 'व्रजत्सु योषित्सु चतुष्पथेषु' (3.32a)

Here 'व्रजत्सु' is also a case of *liṅga-vyatyaya*, which is perhaps resorted to owing to the *anuprāsa* in the combination 'व्रजत्सु योषित्सु' de 4.7 emend it as 'यान्तीषु योषित्सु'.

(iii) स एष नूनं तपतां वरिष्ठ ऋतध्वजो नात्र विचारणाऽस्ति ॥ 65.117 cd)

The reading in most of the MSS and in the majority of the versions is 'विचारमस्ति' for 'विचारणाऽस्ति'. The word 'विचार' (masculine) is used here as neuter, and so is emended as 'विचारणा. The reading 'विचारमस्ति' is therefore, preferable.

(iv) 'पञ्चमं मुखमब्रवीत' (2. 32d)

Here most of the MSS read 'पञ्चमोऽथ मुखोऽब्रवीत्', which is preferrble.

(b) *Vacana-vyatyaya* (Reversion of number)

मयापूर्वं मयापूर्वं विवदन्तौ परस्परम् ।
आगम्योचुर्महेशाय ब्रह्मणे माधवाय च ॥ (58.106)

The reading 'ऊचुः' in plural is used here for the two persons (Indra and Skanda) as the reading 'विवदन्तौ' shows It is given in most of the MSS. The reading 'ऊचुः' here is due to the metrical exigency only and is preferrable.

(c) *Vibhakti-vyatyaya* (Reversion of case)

(i) हृषद्वत्यां नरः स्नात्वा तर्पयित्वा च देवताः ।
अग्निष्टोमातिरात्रस्य फलं विन्दति मानवः ॥ (36.48)

The reading in many MSS is 'अग्निष्टोमातिरात्राभ्यां' in 48 c, in which *tṛtīyā* or *caturthi* (instrumental or dative) has been used for the *ṣaṣṭhī* (or the genitive case). This reading is also similar to and thus corroborated by Mbh. III. 81.73. Compare also :—

ततः पारिप्लवं गच्छेत् तीर्थं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम् ।
अग्निष्टोमातिरात्राभ्यां फलं प्राप्नोति भारत ॥ (Mbh. III. 81.10)

Compare also the following śloka of the Mbh :—

गमनादेव राजेन्द्र दीर्घसत्रमरिंदम ।
राजसूयाश्वमेधाभ्यां फलं प्राप्नोति भारत ॥ (III. 80.117)

Here also *tṛtīyā* or *caturthī* has been used for *ṣaṣṭhī*, as is indicated by the following text of the Mbh :—

गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरूद्वह ।
फलं प्राप्नोति च तदा राजसूयाश्वमेधयोः ॥ (III. 81.6 v. l.)

Here, we have the usual *ṣaṣṭhī* in 6 d.

(ii) शक्रस्याहृत्य च गजं याम्यं च महिषं बलात् ॥ (55. 13 cd)

Here most of the MSS read as :—

शक्रस्याहृत्य (v. l. °कृष्य) च गजो याम्यश्च महिषो बलात् ।

where *prathamā* (nominative) has been used for *dvitīyā* (accusative), which is perhaps due to the influence of Prakṛta in which the forms of nominative and accusative are generally the same; e. g. compare the reading 'निधयः संदिदेश सः' (78.36 a) which is given in most of the MSS.[19]

(iii) 'जग्मुर्हृष्टा रथेभ्यस्ते' (65. 106 a)

Here, all the MSS except दे 7.9 give the above reading in which *caturthī* (dative) has been used for *tṛtīyā* (instrumental) as is clear by the reading 'रथैस्ते हि' given in दे 7.9. This reading of दे 7.9 is an emendation of the reading रथेभ्यस्.

(iv) ततः शकुनिना पाणिगृहीतो यक्षकन्यया ॥ (65. 162 cd)

यक्षकन्यया is also the reading in most of the MSS. Here *tritīyā* is used for *ṣaṣṭhī*. This reading is also due to the metrical exigency.

(d) *Other Grammatical Aberrations* :

(i) 'साऽथ मां प्राह किं कुर्मो' (55.38 a)

The reading in many MSS and versions (दे 1. 3, 10. ब 1-3, न 1) is 'कुर्मि' for 'कुर्मो' ; in शा 1. का 1. 2 and दे 4 the reading is करोमि, while in दे 7 it is 'कुर्या'. The reading 'कुर्मि' is older or archaic, and is, therefore, preferable to the other readings which are perhaps its emendations.

(ii) 'हसन्ती सुरथं प्राह' (65. 116c)

The readings in many MSS is 'सुरथं हसती प्राह' which contains a grammatical aberration in 'हसती' (= हसन्ती). This reading is due

19. For further illustrations see *Appendix*.

to the metrical exigency ; i. e. for avoiding a long 5th syllable in this *pāda* of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, which should always be short according to the metrical rules ('पञ्चमं लघु सर्वत्र'). It has been emended by changing the construction as 'हसन्ती सुरथं प्राह'.

(iii) पूर्वं गयेन क्षितिपेन यत्र इष्टोऽश्वमेधः शतशः सुदक्षिणः । (76. 15ab)

The reading 'इष्टो' is contained in several MSS also, but 'यष्टो' is the reading in the majority of the Groups—in दे 5. 7. 11. शा 1. का 1. 2. ब. 1. 3. न 1. How the reading 'यष्टो' occurs in so many MSS and versions is not certain. Is the reading 'इष्टः' an emended form of 'यष्टो', or is 'यष्टो' a corrupt form of 'इष्टो' or is the reading 'यष्टो' adopted for avoiding the *haitus* in 'यत्र इष्टो' ?

(iv) कृताञ्जलिपुटो भूत्वा हरः स्तोत्रमुदैरयत् ॥ (3. 13).

Here 'हरः स्तोत्रमुदीरयत्' is the reading in the majority of the MSS. The reading 'उदीरयत्' is grammatically irregular. According to the rule of the Pāṇini-grammar it should have the *āgama* आट् and the form should be then उदैरयत् as given in the reading of the Veṅkṭ, and some of the MSS. But the reading 'उदीरयत्' being irregular and also being contained in the majority of the MSS is older, and 'उदैरयत्' is an emended reading.

Readings having grammatical aberrations occur in large number in the Vāmana-Purāṇa as in the Epics and the other Purāṇas. The above are only a few illustrations to show how such older irregular uses were being regularised in the MSS by the scribes or the readers.

12. Sometimes some MSS, and even the majority of MSS, contain grammatically wrong readings which are generally due to the ignorance of the scribes and, therefore, are not really old grammatical aberrations or archaic forms. Such grammatically incorrect readings are adopted in their grammatically correct forms. E. g. :—

(1) धनिष्ठार्धं शतभिषा प्रोष्ठपादांशकत्रयम् । (5. 41ab)

The reading प्रोष्ठपाद meaning here the प्रोष्ठपदा (or भाद्रपदा) Nakṣata is wrong. According to the rule of Pāṇini 'जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम्' (VII. 3. 18)

the *vṛddhi* in the *uttara-pada* (second member of the compound 'प्रोष्ठपद') is correct only when the word 'प्रोष्ठपाद' means 'born under the Nakṣatra प्रोष्ठपद. So in the sense of the Nakṣatra प्रोष्ठपद (or प्रौष्ठपद and also प्रौष्ठपद्य, if we add अण् or ष्यञ् here in *svārtha*) प्रोष्ठपद is the only correct form. MSS give here various readings such as प्रोष्ठपद्य, प्रौष्ठपद्य, प्रोष्ठपद (दे 10 only). प्रोष्ठपाद, प्रौष्ठपाद. Out of these readings the correct reading 'प्रोष्ठपद' is acceptable.

(2) ब्रह्मचर्यं सदा सत्यं जपं ज्ञानं च राक्षस ।
नियमो धर्मवेदित्वमार्षो धर्मः प्रचक्षते ॥ (11. 22)

Here 'प्रचक्षते' is the reading in almost all the MSS also. But it is grammatically wrong ; the correct form should be in passive as 'प्रचक्ष्यते'. This correct reading 'प्रचक्ष्यते' is given only in two MSS दे 1. 10. The correct form 'प्रचक्ष्यते' is adopted.

(3) According to the rule an अनुस्वार when occuring in the middle of a *pada* should invariably be changed into the परसवर्ण, but in most of the MSS, except the Śāradā MSS, अनुस्वार is not changed into the परसवर्ण. Similarly according to the *Sūtra*-s 'रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे' (VIII. 4 1) etc. न् should be changed to ण्, and according to the *Sūtra*-s (VIII. 3.57 etc) स् should be changed to ष्. But in the MSS owing to the scribal whims these changes are not regular and uniformly made, consequently such forms as 'क्षोभनाय' (All MSS) occur. The Rules of *Sandhi-s* according to the *Sūtra-s* 'स्तोश्चुनाश्चुः' (VIII. 4.40), 'तोर्लि' (VIII. 4.60), 'नश्छव्यप्रशान्' (VIII. 3.7), 'छे च' (VI. 1.73) etc., also are often subjected to the scribal ignorance, carelessness or whims. And such readings, therefore, as 'ब्रह्मन् शैलशृंगे' (Vām.-P. 8.3ca), 'भगवान् लोल.' (3.40c), 'भगवान् जातः' (2.19c) etc. occur in the MSS. In such cases grammatically correct reedings only are adopted either from the MSS or by emendation.

13. In the case of the texts of the prose-formulas, containing उवाच, ऊचतुः, ऊचुः, also MSS are not uniform. Some give as 'पुलस्त्य उवाच,' some 'पुलस्त्य उ०' and some as 'पुलस्त्यः' (generaly Śāradā MSS). Even a particular MS also does not always observe the uniformity in this respect. Sometimes wrong readings as

'देवा उवाच' are given. In the constituted text, however, the uniformity is followed in this respect, and 'पुलस्त्य उवाच' 'देवा ऊचुः' etc. are given.

14. In course of time MSS often simplify an original difficult reading by rightly or wrongly changing its form or by substituting an easier synonym for it. A difficult reading (*lectio difficilior*), therefore, is held to be older, and hence it is preferrable according to the recognised principles of textual criticism. E.g. :—

(1) कृत्वोपवासमष्टम्यां नवम्यां स्नानमाचरेत् ।
मासि मार्गशिरे स्नानं रुद्रार्च्चा दधिजा स्मृता ॥ (16.39)

The mode of Rudra-worship to be performed in each month is described in this chapter. The general procedure is—(a) उपवास on the *Aṣṭamī* (b) स्नान with गोमूत्र, गोमय, गोदुग्ध, गोहविस् etc., on the *Navamī*, (c) Rudra-worship with some herbs or flowers, (d) धूप or incense, (e) नैवेद्य, (f) दक्षिणा and lastly (g) नमस्कार to a particular form or aspect of God Rudra, such as *Virūpākṣa*, *Hiraṇyākṣa*, *Sthāṇu* etc. Separate names or forms of Rudra are prescribed for each of the twelve months ; similarly separate articles or *dravya*-s to be used for performing these various *aṅga*-s of रुद्रार्चा in each month are prescribed (16.30-65).

Here, in the śloka 16.39 (quoted above) this reading of 39cd —'मासि मार्गशिरे स्नानं रुद्रार्चा दधिजा स्मृता'—is given only in the Veṅkṭ. edn. But here the article with which the स्नानं is to be performed is not mentioned ; then the अर्चा or worship of Rudra is to be performed with some herb or flower, and not with दधि or curd which should be used for the स्नान as other similar articles—गोमूत्र (32b), गोमय (35a), पयस् (i. e. गोदुग्ध or cow-milk) (37a)—have been prescribed for the स्नान in the months of भाद्रपद, आश्वयुज् and कार्तिक respectively. So the Veṅkṭ. text of 39cd is clearly wrong. Now in the MSS ब 3 and न 1 we have the following reading in its place:—

'मासि मार्गशिरे स्नानं दब्नार्च्चा भद्रया स्मृता ।'

The reading 'स्नानं दब्ना' is given in the majority of the MSS, and so it is correct and also quite appropriate, but 'भद्रया' is the reading in ब 3 and न 1 (भद्रया, न 1) only, which means that the अर्चा

is to be performed with 'भद्रा'. The word 'भद्रा' in this context is a synonym for the names of several herbs as *Kṛṣṇā*, *anantā*, *aparājitā*, *rāsnā*, etc. ('''भद्रा विष्णौ नभः सरिति कट्फले । कृष्णाऽनन्तारास्नासु, Hemacandra; Anekārtha-Saṁgraha; also cf. M. W. Dictionary under the word 'भद्रा'). Any of these herbs is quite appropriate for the worship (अर्चा) of Rudra, and so the reading 'अर्चा भद्रया स्मृता' also seems to be a correct one. The reading 'भद्रया' has several variants in the MSS, such as रुद्रया, रुद्रिया, रुद्रजा, क्षुद्रया, तत्रया etc., which are the results of the efforts on the part of the scribes to simplyfy the *lactio difficilior* 'भद्रया'. In the variant 'क्षुद्रया' (given in का 1.2 only) 'क्षुद्रा' is also the name of several herbs, but भद्रा is more preferrable, and it is mentioned in two distinct versions also.

(2) श्रुत्वा तद्वचनं स्कन्दो मयूरं प्रोज्झ्य तत्क्षणात् ।
प्रदक्षिणं पादचारी कर्तुं तूर्णंतरोऽभ्यगात् ।। (58.103)

The reading 'प्रोज्झ्य' means 'त्यक्त्वा' or leaving, discarding etc. Many MSS read प्रोह्य in its place. It is a difficult reading, but it seems to be the correct reading. It is formed from प्र+√ऊह् and means 'pushing away' etc. (See M. W. Dictionary). It was not easily intelligible, and so it was changed to प्रोक्ष्य, प्रेक्ष्य etc. in the MSS.

(3) मुद्गरे वितथे जाते पाशमादाय वेगवान् ।
प्रचिक्षेप नराग्र्याय तं च चिच्छेद धर्मजः ।। (8.22)

Here प्रासमाविध्य is the reading in ब 2 दे 4.7.9 न 1. The word 'आविध्य' here means 'swinging' (आ+√व्यध् = 'to throw', 'to fling', 'to swing'—M. W. Dictionary. The use of 'आ+√व्यध्' in the sense of "to swing" is referred to the Mahābh.). Compare also:—

तं पाशमाविध्य गदां प्रगृह्य चिक्षेप दैत्यः स जलेश्वराय ।। (10.42cd)

So the reading 'आविध्य' being a *lactio difficilior* is preferrable here in 8.22 also.

15. In the domain of knowledge ideas often develop gradually, and knowledge generally becomes more and more improved and detailed in course of time. So the text containing less improved or less detailed ideas may be an earlier one, and

hence it is preferrable to that which contains more improved or detailed ideas : E.g. :—

ब्रह्मा मुरारिस्त्रिपुरान्तकारी भानुः शशी भूमिसुतो बुधश्च ।
गुरुश्च शुक्रः सह भानुजेन कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ (14.23)

Here, in the Kashmirian MSS and also in दे 1.3.10 'शनिराहुकेतवः' is the reading for 'सह भानुजेन'. This reading 'शनिराहुकेतवः' seems to be a later improvement. The reading 'सह भानुजेन' is therefore, preferrable.

16. As far as possible break of symmetry (*prakrama-bhaṅga*) is avoided in settling a text. E.g.—

पृथ्वी सगन्धा सरसास्तथाऽऽप. सस्पर्शवायुर्ज्वलनः सुतेजाः ।
नभः सशब्दं महता सहैव यच्छन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ (14.26)

Here in the reading 'सुतेजाः' (qualifying ज्वलनः) there is a break of symmetry, as all the other qualities (*Guṇas*) of the remaining *Mahābhūtās* are compounded with सह (which becomes 'स-' in a compound). But in many MSS we have the reading 'सतेजाः' also, which is in symmetry with the other readings 'सगन्धा' 'सरसाः' 'सस्पर्शः and 'सशब्दं' and also with 'महता सहैव'. So the reading 'सतेजाः' is more suitable here than 'सुतेजाः'.

17. Sometimes a text is omitted only in a few MSS, but the omission is justified by the preceding or the following text. In such case that omission is adhered to. E.g. :—

नाशयामास सा (=कात्यायनी) यत्र दानवं महिषासुरम् ।
नमरं रक्तबीजं च तथाऽन्यान् सुरकण्टकान् ॥ 38

नारद उवाच

कश्चासौ महिषो नाम रक्तबीजादयश्च के ।
काऽसौ कात्यायनी नाम या जघ्ने महिषासुरम् ॥ 39
नमरं रक्तबीजं च तथाऽन्यान् सुरकण्टकान् ।
कश्चासौ महिषो नाम कास्ते जातश्च कस्य सः ॥ 40
कश्चासौ रक्तबीजाख्यो नमरः कस्य चात्मजः ।
एतद्विस्तरतस्तात यथावद् वक्तुमर्हसि ॥ 41
(Adh. 17)

Here the half śloka 39 ab is omitted in some MSS (ब 3 दे 9 न 1). The omission is justified by the following text of 39 cd-41, which is more in conformity with Śl. 38. The text of 39 ab, here, is obviously superfluous.

18. Sometimes the MSS of a certain Group only supplies a missing text. In that case the additional text given in these MSS, supplying the lacuna, is adopted. E. g. :—

(1) अभोज्याः सूतिका। षण्डो मार्जाराखू च कुक्कुटाः ।
पतितापविद्धनग्नाश्रण्डालाद्याधमाश्च ये ॥ (14.82)

Here a list of those persons is given whose food is prohibited to be taken. Among these '*Mārjāra*' (literally meaning 'a cat') and an '*Ākhu*' (literally meaning 'a mouse') are also included. The reading 'मार्जाराखू च' is given in the Veṅkṭ. edn. only. Most of the MSS read 'मार्जाराखुश्च' which is grammatically wrong. These *abhojya* persons are defined in the same order in Ślokas 84-92. After the definition of *Mārjāra* in Śl. 86 *Ākhu* is defined in Śl 87, and then immediately after it, *Kukkuṭa* is defined in Śl 88 in the Venkt. edn. as well as in all the MSS except those of the Kashmirian Group (G 1). The Kashmirian MSS give the following additional śloka between the definitions of *Ākhu* and *Kukkuṭa* :—

यः परेषां हि मर्माणि निकृन्तन्निव भाषते ।
नित्यं परगुणद्वेषी स श्वान इति कथ्यते ॥

Now on the basis of this additional text of G 1 MSS we can reconstruct the text 'मार्जाराखुश्च कुक्कुटाः' (14.82b), as 'मार्जाराखुश्व-कुक्कुटाः'. Here the original reading—श्व- was wrongly written as *श्र[20] and thus the text has become corrupt in almost all the MSS. But the definition of 'श्व' or 'श्वान' is missing in the printed text as well as in the MSS. Only the Kashmirian MSS have supplied this missing or lost text, which also leads to the construction of the correct text in Śl. 14.82b as shown above by suggesting the substitution of 'श्व' for 'श्र'.

20. In MSS, and specially in Devanāgarī MSS, च and व are often found wrongly written for व and च respectively.

(2) In Adh. 56 of the Vām.-P. the battle between Goddess Kātyāyanī and two Assura-s, Śumbha and Niśumbha, and their great Army-Commander, Raktabīja, is narrated. When Raktabīja with his large army attacked Goddess Caṇḍikā (Kātyāyanī) she roared the lion's roar and then from the different parts of her body the various *Mātṛ*-s (or *Śakti-s*) were produced. The following *Mātṛ*-s or various forms of the Goddess are described or mentioned in the Veṅkṭ-edn. śl 3-12 and in the MSS of the Vāmana-Purāṇa : 1. ब्रह्माणी from the mouth of the Goddess, 2. माहेश्वरी, 3. कौमारी (the *Śakti* of Kumāra or Skanda), 4. वैष्णवी from her two arms, 5. वाराही from her back, 6. नारसिंही from her heart and 7. शिवा or शिवदूती from her body. The text of 56. 20 cd-22 ab of the Veṇkṭ edn. reads as follows :—

महाजलक्षेपहृतप्रभावान् ब्राह्मी तथाऽज्यानसुराश्चकार ॥ 20 c d
माहेश्वरी शूलविदारितोरसश्चकार दग्धाश्च परांश्च वैष्णवी ।
शक्त्या कुमारी कुलिशेन चण्डी(?)तुण्डेन चक्रेण वराहरूपिणी ॥ 1
नखैर्विभिन्नानपि नारसिंही अट्टाट्टहासैरपि रुद्रदूती । 22 a b

In 21c all the MSS read 'चैन्द्री' for the Venkṭ-reading 'चण्डी'. So according to the MSS the 'ऐन्द्री' is also included among the Mātṛ-s mentioned here. Now compare the similar text of the Devī-Māhātmya (9. 37cd-40) of the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa :—

असुरास्तांस्तथा काली शिवदूती तथाऽपरान् ॥ 37 cd
कौमारीशक्तिनिर्भिन्नाः केचिन्नेशुर्महासुराः ।
ब्रह्माणीमन्त्रपूतेन तोयेनान्ये निराकृताः ॥ 38
माहेश्वरीत्रिशूलेन भिन्नाः पेतुस्तथाऽपरे ।
वाराहीतुण्डघातेन केचिच्चूर्णीकृता भुवि ॥ 39
खण्डं खण्डं च चक्रेण वैष्णव्या दानवाः कृताः ।
वज्रेण चैन्द्रीहस्ताग्रविमुक्तेन तथाऽपरे ॥ 40

(Devī-Māhātmya, Adh. 9)

Here in 40c 'वज्रेण चैन्द्री-' is equal to the reading 'कुलिशेन चैन्द्री' (MSS) in 21c of the Vām.-P. above. Thus, the MSS-reading 'चैन्द्री' is fully confirmed. But in the description of the birth of

the *Mātṛ-s* in 56.3-12a b of the Vām.P. no mention of the birth of 'ऐन्द्री' is made either in the Veṅkṭ.edn. or in the MSS. So the text containing the mention of the birth of 'ऐन्द्री' seems to be lost. But fortunately we have here the following additional text after Śl. 56.8ab in all the Kashmirian MSS (G I) :—

वज्राङ्कुशोद्यतकरा नानाऽलंकारभूषिताः ।
जाता गजेन्द्रपृष्ठस्था माहेन्द्री स्तनमण्डलात् ॥

So, according to this additional text in the Kashmirian MSS the *Mātṛ* माहेन्द्री (i.e. ऐन्द्री) was born from the *stana-maṇḍala* ('breast-orb') or the rounded breast of Goddess Caṇḍikā. Thus, the lost text mentioning the birth of the *Mātṛ* ऐन्द्री has been supplied by the Kashmirian MSS only, and it is adopted.

(3) घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः क्रौञ्चो दध्यो(?)दो द्विगुणस्ततः ॥ 37 c d
समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः शाकाद् दुग्धाब्धिरुत्तमः । 38 a b
(Vām.-P., Adh. 11)

Here, in 38a 'समुद्राद्' is the reading in all the MSS, which leads to the supposition that there might also have been the reading 'समुद्रः' (?) immediately preceding the reading समुद्राद्', so that this reading 'समुद्राद्' in 38a might have some propriety here.

Now, in all the Kashmirian MSS (G I) and also in दे 2 we have the following text in place of the above text of Śl. 37cd

घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः क्रौञ्चद्वीपो निशाचर ।
ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः ॥

This additional or the amplified text 'ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः' of the Kashmirian and दे 2 MSS for the shorter text 'दध्योदो द्विगुणस्ततः' of the remaining MSS, immediately preceding the text 'समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः' (in 38a), supplies a lacuna and corroboartes the reading 'समुद्राद्' (in 38a) as quite appropriate.

19. Sometimes a text is found displaced in all the MSS, and so its sense does not fit there. In such case that displaced text is restored to its proper place required by the sense and context, according to the principle 'पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमो बलीयान्'.[21]

21. Cf. Nīlakaṇṭha—"तथा च पाठक्रमादर्थक्रमस्य बलवत्त्वात् 'पृथिव्यां नैमिषं पुण्यमन्तरिक्षे च पुष्करम्' इत्यतः परं 'ये वसन्ति कुरुक्षेत्रे ते वसन्ति त्रिविष्टपे' इत्ययं ग्रन्थो द्रष्टव्यः ।" (Comm. on Mbh. Vana-Parva, 83. 203ff.)

Compare the following text (11.31-42) :—

योजनाना प्रमाणेन पञ्चाशत्कोटिरायता ।
जलोपरि महीयं हि नौरिवास्ते सरिज्जले ॥ 31
.....
स्थानानि द्वीपसंज्ञानि कृतवांश्च प्रजापतिः ।
तत्र मध्ये च कृतवाञ्जम्बूद्वीपमिति श्रुतम् ॥ 33
तल्लक्षं योजनाना च प्रमाणेन निगद्यते ।
ततो जलनिधिः क्षारो बाह्यतो द्विगुणः स्थितः ॥ 34
तस्यापि द्विगुणः प्लक्षो बाह्यतः संप्रतिष्ठितः ।
ततस् त्विक्षुरसोदश्च बाह्यतो वलयाकृतिः ॥ 35
द्विगुणः शाल्मलिद्वीपो द्विगुणोऽस्य महोदधिः (धेः ?) ।
सुरोदो द्विगुणस्तस्य तस्माच्च द्विगुणः कुशः ॥ 36
घृतोदो द्विगुणश्चैव कुशद्वीपात् प्रकीर्तितः ।
घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः क्रौञ्चो दध्यो(?)दो द्विगुणस्ततः ॥ 37*
समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः शाकाद् दुग्धाब्धिरुत्तमः ।
द्विगुणो संस्थितो यत्र शेषपर्यङ्कगो हरिः ॥ 38
तस्माच्च पुष्करद्वीप. स्वादूदस्तदनन्तरम् ।
एते च द्विगुणा. सर्वे परस्परमवस्थिताः ॥ 39
चत्वारिंशदिमाः कोट्यो लक्षाश्च नवतिः स्मृताः ।
योजनानां राक्षसेन्द्र पञ्च चाति सुविस्तृताः ॥ 40
जम्बूद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः ।
कोट्यश्चतस्रो लक्षाणां द्वौ पञ्चाशच्च राक्षस ॥ 41
पुष्करद्वीपमानोऽयं तावानन्ते महोदधिः ।
लक्षमण्डकटाहेन समन्तादभिपूरितम् ॥ 42

Here, the names, position and the extent of the seven Dvīpa-s and the seven Samudra-s which surround them are given. The extent of the Earth, as mentioned in Śl. 31 above, is *fifty crores* of yojana-s. The Earth is divided into seven great Divisions called the Dvīpa-s which are named as जम्बूद्वीप, प्लक्षद्वीप, शाल्मलिद्वीप, कुशद्वीप, क्रौञ्चद्वीप, शाकद्वीप, and पुष्करद्वीप. Each of these seven Dvīpa-s

[* For 37cd the MSS of GI read :—

घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः क्रौञ्चद्वीपो निशाचर ।
ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः ॥

See 18.(3) of this article above]

s surrounded (as given above in Śl. 33 ff.) by a circular Ocean is as follows :—

1. जम्बुद्वीप by क्षारजलनिधि (Ocean of salt)
2. प्लक्षद्वीप by इक्षुरसोद (Ocean of syrup)
3. शाल्मलिद्वीप by सुरोद (Ocean of *surā* or wine)
4. कुशद्वीप by घृतोद (Ocean of clarified butter)
5. क्रौञ्चद्वीप by दधिसमुद्र (Ocean of curd)
6. शाकद्वीप by दुग्धाब्धि (Ocean of milk)
7. पुष्करद्वीप by स्वादूद (Ocean of fresh water).

Thus, these seven Dvīpa-s are separated from each other by seven distinct concentric circumambient Oceans.

The extent of each Ocean (except of the स्वादूद) is mentioned here, in the Vāmana-Purāṇa, as double of the extent of the Dvīpa surrounded by that Ocean ; and similarly, the extent of each Dvīpa (except that of the पुष्करद्वीप) is double of the extent of the Ocean surrounded by that Dvīpa.[22] The extent of the पुष्करद्वीप, however, is not mentioned as double of the extent of the दुग्धाब्धि (or क्षीराब्धि) which is surround by it (the पुष्करद्वीप), but it is, as given in Śl 41cd above, *four crores and fifty-two lacs* of yojana-s.[23] Similarly, the extent of the स्वादूद is not also double the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप which is surrounded by this Ocean, but it (the स्वादूद) is of the same extent as the पुष्करद्वीप. The size

22. According to the other Purāṇas, however, the extent of each Ocean is of the same size as that of the Dvīpa which it surrounds, but the extent of a Dvīpa is double the size of the Ocean which that Dvīpa surrounds, and thus the latter Dvīpa is double the extent of the former Dvīpa, and similarly the latter Samudra is double the extent of the former Samudra ; *cf.* Viṣṇu. P. II. 4. 87 .—

एवं द्वीपाः समुद्रैश्च सप्त सप्तभिरावृताः ।
द्वीपश्चैव समुद्रश्च समानौ द्विगुणौ परौ ॥

23. Here also the Vāmana-Purāna differs from the other Purāṇas, since according to the other Purāṇas, the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप is also double the extent of the क्षीराब्धि which it surrounds, and hence double the extent of the former Dvīpa, शाकद्वीप (Viṣṇu. P. II. 4. 71-72). But the extent of the स्वादूद which surrounds the पुष्करद्वीप is mentioned in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa also as equal to the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप (*ibid.*, Śl. 86).

of the जम्बुद्वीप, the first Dvīpa in the enumerated order, is *one l* of yojana-s and the extent of the last-mentioned अण्डकटाह (which also regarded as a Dvīpa by the Kathā-sarit-sāgara—MW.) is al *one lac* of yojajana-s, the same extent as that of the first Dvīp the Jambu-Dvīpa. And the total extent of all the seven Dvīpa and the seven samudra-s plus the extent of Aṇḍa-Kaṭāha (She of the Mundane Egg) should be equal to the extent of the Earth which is *fifty crores* of yojana-s.

The above statement may be more clearly presented a follows :—

Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s	Extent in Yojana-s	
1. जम्बुद्वीप	1 lac	1,00,000
—क्षारसमुद्र	2 lacs	2,00,000
2. प्लक्षद्वीप	4 lacs	4,00,000
—इक्षुरसोद	8 lacs	8,00,000
3. शाल्मलिद्वीप	16 lacs	16,00,000
—सुरोद	32 lacs	32,00,000
4. कुशद्वीप	64 lacs	64,00,000
—घृतोद	128 lacs	1,28,00,000
5. क्रौञ्चद्वीप	256 lacs	2,56,00,000
—दधिसमुद्र	512 lacs	5,12,00,000
6. शाकद्वीप	1024 lacs	10,24,00,000
—दुग्धाब्धि	2048 lacs	20,48,00,000
Total	4095 lacs	40,95,00,000

Thus, the total extent of the first six Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s, from जम्बुद्वीप to दुग्धाब्धि or क्षीराब्धि (Ocean of Milk), comes to *forty-crores and ninety-five lacs* of Yojanas, which exactly tallies with their total extent given in Śl. 40-41ab above, as follows :—

चत्वारिंशदिमाः कोट्यो लक्षाश्च नवतिः स्मृताः ।
योजनानां राक्षसेन्द्र पञ्च चातिसुविस्तृताः ॥ 40
जम्बूद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः । 41 ab

Now, add to this the extent of the remaining seventh Dvīpa (पुष्करद्वीप), and of the remaining seventh Samudra (स्वादूद) and also the extent of the अण्डकटाह surrounding the last Ocean स्वादूद, as given in Śl. 41cd-42 above, which is as follows :—

कोट्यश्चतस्रो लक्षाणां द्वौ पञ्चाशच्च राक्षस ॥ 41 cd
पुष्करद्वीपमानोऽयं तावानन्ते महोदधिः ।
लक्षमण्डकटाहेन समन्तादभिपूरितम् ॥ 42

(That is, the extent of पुष्करद्वीप is *four crores and fifty-two lacs* of Yojanas, and of the *same* extent is the last Ocean स्वादूद, and the space of *one lac* of Yojana-s is filled all round by the अण्डकटाह).

Then the total extent of all the seven Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s together with the extent of the *Aṇḍa-Kaṭāha* comes to *fifty crores* of yojana-s, as shown below :—

Total extent of the first six Dvīpa-s and Samudra-s (from जम्बुद्वीप to क्षीरब्धि)	40,95,00,000	Yojana-s
Extent of पुष्करद्वीप	4,52,00,000	,,
Extent of स्वादूद	4,52,00,000	,,
Extent covered by अण्डकटाह	1,00,000	,,
Grand Total	50,00,00,000	Yojana-s

Thus, this total extent, *fifty-crores* of yojana-s, comes to be the same as the total expanse of the Earth, which is also mentioned as *fifty crore* yojana-s 'पञ्चाशत्कोटिरायता' (Śl. 31).

According to this calculation, therefore, the text in śl. 41cd-42 ab which gives the extent of पुष्कर द्वीप and स्वादूद is quite correct. But the text in 39cd—'एते च द्विगुणाः सर्वे परस्परमवस्थिताः' must also refer to the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप and of the स्वादूद, for both are mentioned here in the immediately preceding text of 39 ab as 'तस्माच्च पुष्करद्वीपः स्वादूदस्तदनन्तरम्'. But, in fact, the text of the line 39 cd—'एते च द्विगुणाः सर्वे परस्परमवस्थिताः'—refers to the extent of the first six Dvīpa-s and the first six Samudra-s only, as is clear from the line 41 ab—'जम्बूद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः'.

The text of the line 39 ab, therefore, occurs in a wrong place. Its proper place should actually be after the line 41 ab, as the next two lines 41 cd and 42 ab mention the extent of the पुष्करद्वीप and its surrounding Ocean स्वादूद. Line 39 ab therefore, should be restored to its place, i. e. after 41 ab.

The constituted text of the ślokas from 37 cd to 42 cd of the Veṅkṭ. text, then, would be as follows :—

घृतोदाद् द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः क्रौञ्चद्वीपो निशाचर ।
ततोऽपि द्विगुणः प्रोक्तः समुद्रो दधिसंज्ञितः ॥ 37
समुद्राद् द्विगुणः शाकः शाकाद् दुग्धाब्धिरुत्तमः ।
द्विगुणो संस्थितो यत्र शेषपर्यङ्कगो हरिः ॥ 38
चत्वारिंशदिमाः कोट्यो लक्षाश्च नवतिः स्मृताः ।
योजनानां राक्षसेन्द्र पञ्च चाति सुविस्तृताः ॥ 39
जम्बूद्वीपात् समारभ्य यावत्क्षीराब्धिरन्ततः ।
तस्माच्च पुष्करद्वीपः स्वादूदस्तदनन्तरम् ॥ 40
कोट्यश्चतस्रो लक्षाणां द्विपञ्चाशच्च राक्षस ।
पुष्करद्वीपमानोऽयं तावदेव तथोदधिः ।*
लक्षमण्डकटाहेन समन्तादभिपूरितम् ॥ 41

[* The reading 'तावदेव तथोदधिः' is given in MSS शा1 का1. का 1. 2 दे 2; दे 7 reads 'तावदन्तं तथोदधिः ; दे 4 reads तावानन्तस्तथोदधिः]

20. Sometimes a reading, even if it occurs in all the MSS, has to be emended, so that the text containing that reading may give a correct and appropriate sense. (The emendation is indicated in the constituted text by *an underline* below the emended reading).

Compare the following text of the Vām.-P., Adh. 11 (already quoted above) :—

तस्यापि द्विगुणः प्लक्षो बाह्यतः संप्रतिष्ठितः ।
ततस्त्विक्षुरसोदश्च बाह्यतो वलयाकृतिः ॥ 35 ॥
द्विगुणः शाल्मलिद्वीपो द्विगुणोऽस्य महोदधिः ।
सुरोदो द्विगुणस्तस्य तस्माच्च द्विगुणः कुशः ॥ 36 ॥

[Here, the reading 'महोदधिः' is given in all the MSS also.]

The sense of this text is quite confusing. It may mean :—

Either

"The Dvīpa प्लक्ष is double of that (i. e. of the क्षारजलनिधि, referred to in 34 cd), and is situated on the outside. Then the इक्षुरसोद is also [situated] outside in a circular form"—śl. 35.' 'The शाल्मलिद्वीप is double [of the extent of इक्षुरसोद]. The महोदधि (which ?) is double of this (*asya*) (i. e. of the शाल्मलिद्वीप).

The सुरोद is double of that (*tasya*) (i.e. of the महोदधि ?), and the कुशद्वीप is double of that (सुरोद)—śl. 36.

Or

"The इक्षुरसोद situated outside in a circulr form is double (द्विगुण:, 36a) [of the प्लक्षद्वीप]. śl. 35cd. The शाल्मलिद्वीप is double (द्विगुण, 36b) of this (*asya*) (i. e. of the इक्षुरसोद). The *Mahodadhi* सुरोद is double of that (*tasya*) (i. e. of the शाल्मलिद्वीप), and कुशद्वीप is also double of that (*tasmāt*, i. e. from सुरोद)".

Here as we see the *first* sense is confusing. The *second* sense is some-what more reasonable. But the defect in this latter sense also lies in the fact that the word *Mahodadhi* (महोदधि:) will have to be construed with the following word सुरोद as its 'case-in-apposition'; but this breaks the symmetry, as no such qualifying word has yet been used for the names of the other Oceans, mentioned before सुरोद, as their 'case-in-apposition'. Moreover, the word 'महोदधि:' if construed with 'सुरोद:' will become quite redundant or superfluous. Hence the text is defective in every respect. But if we emend the word 'महोदधि:' as 'महोदधे:' (*ṣaṣṭhī* or genetive), the sense of the whole text will be quite clear and appropriate.

There are also some other readings which have also to be emended.

21. There are certain readings which may be considered as *less than certain*. Such readings may be of any of the following three categories :—

(A) Readings which have almost equal manuscript evidence; any of them may be adopted, therefore, in the constituted text in the absence of any deciding factor.

(B) A reading which, even if it is contained in the majority or even in all the MSS, does not give an appropriate and correct sense, but against which no internal or external evidence is available, and which, in the absence of some such sound grounds, cannot also be emended.

(C) A reading which is contained in only a single MS or only in a few MSS, but which gives a suitable and correct sense,

while the other readings, though contained in a larger number of MSS or Groups, do not have any proper sense; such reading is considered as *less than certain*, if it cannot be ascertained whether this reading is genuine or an emended one ; if it is proved to be an emended reading then it is discarded.

All such *less-than-certain* readings, when adopted in the constituted text, are marked with a wavy line (~~~~~~~~).

A few illustrations of such readings are given below :—

(A)—

(1) साधुवादं तदा चक्रुर्दैत्यदानवयूथपाः ॥ (10.22 cd)

Here साधुवादं ददुर्हृष्टा[:] is also the reading for 'साधुवादं तदा चक्रुः'. But both of these two readings have nearly equal manuscript-evidence. So, any of them may be adopted in the constituted text, if there is not any deciding factor in favour of any one of them.

(2) जलेशं ताडयामास मुद्गरैर्वज्रसन्निभैः ॥ (10. 26cd)

Here the MSS contain several different readings, in the transposed order, for 'वज्रसन्निभैः', such as कुठारै (कुठरै, शा 1 का 2)रपि मुद्गरैः (का 1), कुणपैरपि (ब 1. 2), कणपैरपि (ब 3 दे 9), and 'परिघैरपि' (न 1). The reading 'वज्रसन्निभैः' is given only in the Devanāgarī MSS of GI.

कुठार, कुणप, कणप, परिघ are all weapons of war, and any of them may be meant here. There is no deciding factor of sense, context, etc. in favour of any one of them. So any reading which is adopted will be considered as *less than certain*.

(3) रैभ्यो मरीचिश्च्यवनो रिभुश्च कुर्वन्तु सर्वे मम सुप्रभातम् ॥ (16. 17)

The reading 'रिभुः' is also contained in ते 1 and in several Devanāgarī MSS. But it is wrongly spelt here. Its correct form is 'ऋभुः' as is given in दे 4, for sometimes ऋ is found wrongly written as रि in manuscripts. Other readings are 'तुशंगः' (दे 11), त्रिशंकुः (दे 7), निषङ्गः (शा 1, का 1. 2), 'रुषद्गुः' (ब 1. 3) ; etc. Any of these reading may fit here.

(B)—

(1) एष क्रमस्ते गदितो नभादौ स्वपतां मुने ।
स्वपत्सु तत्र देवेषु प्रावृट्कालः समाययौ ॥ (16.17)

The reading 'समाययौ' in past-perfect is not perhaps correct, for the context does not require the past tense here. But it is given in all the MSS except दे 4 which reads 'समाव्रजेत्' (perhaps an emended reading). So if the reading समाययौ is to be adopted on the basis of the manuscript-evidence, it will be considered as *less than certain*.

(2) गोरोचनायुक्तगुडेन चैव देवं समालम्भ्य च पूजयेत्तु ।
प्रीयस्व दीनोऽस्मि भवांस्त्वमीश मच्छोकनाशं प्रकुरुष्व योग्यम् ॥ (16. 46)

The reading 'प्रीयस्व दीनोऽस्मि भवन्तमीश' is given for 'प्रीयस्व दीनोऽस्मि भवांस्त्वमीश' in almost all the MSS. But the reading 'भवन्तम्' here is not justified by sense or context. And if there is no other evidence or ground against it, it is, then, to be adopted in the constituted text on the ground of the manuscript-evidence. It is not yet certain how this reading 'भवन्तम्' occurs here. It needs support from some external source also, which is not yet available. So the reading remains *less than certain*.

(C)—

(1) धान्येषु शालिर्द्विपदेषु विप्रश्चतुष्पदे गौश्च यथा मृगेन्द्रः (12.50 ab)

The reading 'चतुष्पदे गौश्च यथा मृगेन्द्रः' does not give any proper sense. The other readings are 'चतुष्पदेष्वेव यथा मृगेन्द्रः' and 'चतुष्पदे गौः श्वपदां मृगेन्द्रः'. The latter reading ('चतुष्पदे गौः श्वपदां मृगेन्द्रः') is contained in the MS दे 2 only, and it has an appropriate sense also, and therefore is decidedly a better reading. But it is not certain whether this reading is genuine or emended. So it is *less than certain*.

(2) तत्र स्नात्वा च संपूज्य ह्यदितिं देवमातरम् ।
पुत्रं जनयते शूरं सर्वदोषविवर्जितम् ॥ (34-13)

Here almost all the MSS except दे 7 read 'पीत्वा च' for 'संपूज्य' in 13a above, दे 7 reads 'दृष्ट्वा च'. Now, the reading 'पीत्वा च' has no sense here. The reading दृष्ट्वा च as given in दे 7 is quite appropriate, but it is just possible that it may be an emended reading here. So if the reading 'दृष्ट्वा च' is adopted on the ground of its suitability, it will be a *less-than-certain* reading.

We have discussed and illustrated here the several principles adopted for the constitution of the Vāmana-Purāṇa text. But the application of these and the like principles to the settlement of a text requires patience, right judgement and hard labour on the part of the editor ; and even then it cannot be said with certainty that the text settled and adopted is the only correct or the proper one, for it may not suit the sense of what is right and what is wrong, of the critical reader. But the Critical Apparatus appended to a Critical Text provides an ample scope to the critical reader for the exercise of his own free judgement and choice.

APPENDIX

[The footnotes which were not so essential as to be necessarily given in the respective pages, or which were too long to be accomodated there, are given in this Appendix.]

1. EDITIONS OF THE WORKS REFERRED TO

Purāṇas—

Agnī-Purāṇa	—	Ānandāśrama, Poona
Bhāgavata-Purāṇa	—	Gītā Press, Gorakhpur
Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa	—	Veṅkteśvara Press, Bombay
Garuḍa-Purāṇa	—	Paṇḍita-Pustakālaya, Kāśī
Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa	—	Mor edn. Calcutta
Matsya-Purāṇa	—	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona
Nāradīya-Purāṇa	—	Veṅkt. Press, Bombay
Padma-Purāṇa	—	ĀnandāśramaS. S., Poona
Skanda-Purāṇa	—	Veṅkt. Press, Bombay
Vāmana-Purāṇa	—	Veṅkt. Press, Bombay
Vāyu-Purāṇa	—	Mor, Calcutta
Viṣṇu-Purāṇa	—	Gītā Press, Gorakhpur

Other works

Mahābhārata	—	Critical edition, Poona
Vana Parva of the Mahābhārata (with Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary)	—	Chitraśālā-Press, Poon
Harivaṁśa	—	Chitraśālā Press, Poona

Vārāhī-Saṁhitā Yājñavalkya-Smṛti (with Mitākṣarā and Vīra-mitrodaya commentaries	}	— Chaukhamba, Banaras

2. EXTENT OF A PURĀṆA-TEXT

According to the Vāyu-Purāṇa the extent of a Purāṇa-text is 12,000 ślokas ('एवं द्वादशसाहस्रं पुराणं कवयो विदुः' 32. 66 cd). The Bhaviṣya also says—सर्वाण्येव पुराणानि संज्ञेयानि नरर्षभ। द्वादशैव सहस्राणि प्रोक्तानीह मनीषिभिः ॥' (I. 1. 103). If this is so, then the total extent of all the 18 Purāṇas was formerly about *two lacs* of ślokas, which later on went on increasing, as the Bhaviṣya further remarkes—पुनर्वृद्धिं गतानीह आख्यानैर्विविधैर्नृप' (*ibid* 104) and thus came to be of the *four lacs* of ślokes—चतुर्लक्षमिदं प्रोक्तं व्यासेनाद्भुतकर्मणा' (Matsya 53. 57).

4. RIVERS RISING FROM THE MALAYA

कृतमाला ताम्रपर्णी पुष्पजा ह्यत्पलावती ।
मलयप्रसूता नद्यस्ताः सर्वाः शीतजलाः शुभा. ॥ (Matsya, 114. 30)

Cf. also Vāyu (45.105), Mārkaṇḍeya (57.27), etc., where these same four rivers, with some variants, are mentioned as rising from the Malaya; only पुष्पजा (v.l. पुष्कला, पृथुला) is mentioned in place of the वञ्जुला of the Vām.-P., but see fn 6.

The Vām.-P. has added two more rivers to this list—शुनी and सुदामा ; but in the Matsya the शुनी (v l. सिनी) is mentioned as rising from the Ṛṣyavanta (or Rkṣa–), and the सुदामा is not found mentioned elsewhere.

5. RIVERS RISING FROM THE ŚUKTIMAT

काशिका सुकुमारी च मन्दगा मन्दवाहिनी ।
कृपा च पाशिनी चैव शुक्तिमन्तात्मजास्तु ताः ॥ (Matsya, 114.32)
(v.l. ऋषिका for काशिका; पलाशिनी for पाशिनी).

These same six rivers are mentioned as rising from the Śuktimat in the Vāyu (45.106) and Mārk. (57.29f) also; but for काशिका Vāyu reads ऋषिका and the Mārk. reads ऋषिकुल्या, while for पाशिनी both read पलाशिनी.

7. MAHĀBHĀRATA LACUNA SUPPLIED AND TEXT IMPROVED BY VĀMANA

It is not only the Mahābhārata which supplies some missing text of the Vāmana, but the Vāmana also, as if in turn, supplies sometimes a missing text of the Mahābhārata. E.g. :—

Mahābhārata—

ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र ब्रह्मणः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।
ब्रह्मोदुम्बरमित्येव प्रकाशं भुवि भारत ॥ 58
तत्र सप्तर्षिकुण्डेषु स्नातस्य कुरुपुङ्गव ।
केदारे चैव राजेन्द्र कपिष्ठलमहात्मनः ॥ 59
ब्रह्माणमभिगम्याथ शुचि. प्रयतमानसः ।
सर्वपापविशुद्धात्मा ब्रह्मलोकं प्रपद्यते ॥ 60 (III. 81)

Here the text of 59 ab is perhaps incomplete in sense and construction; the Padma-Purāṇa (Ādi. Kh., Adh. 26?) also has the same text as the Mbh. But compare the Vām.-P. :—

Vāmana-Purāṇa—

ततो गच्छेच्च विप्रेन्द्रा ब्रह्मणः स्थानमुत्तमम् ।
ब्रह्मोदुम्बरमित्येवं सर्वलोकेषु विश्रुतम् ॥ 7
तत्र ब्रह्मर्षि (v. l. सप्तर्षि) कुण्डेषु स्नातस्य द्विजसत्तमाः ।
सप्तर्षीणां प्रसादेन सप्तसोमफलं लभेत् (भवेत् ?) ॥ 8 (Adh. 36)

Here we see that the line 36.8cd completes the text of the preceding line 8ab, which is the same as III. 81.59ab of the Mbh, as quoted above.

Compare also the Nāradīya-P. II. 65.62ab.—

तत्र ब्रह्मर्षिकुण्डेषु स्नातः सोमफलं लभेत् ।

In a few places the Vām.-P. also improves the text of the Mbh; e. g. :—

अभिगम्य स्थलीं तस्य (= व्यासस्य) गोसहस्रफलं लभेत् ॥
(Mbh. III. 81.82cd)

अभिगम्य स्थलीं तस्य पुत्रशोकं न विन्दति ॥
(Vām. P., 36.61cd)

If we read with these lines of the Mbh. and the Vām.-P. the preceding lines of both the works, narrating how at this place (व्यासस्थली) Vyāsa was overwhelmed with sorrow for the loss of his son, and then consoled by the gods, we will at once know that the reading of the Vām.-P. 'पुत्रशोकं न विन्दति' is better than that of the Mbh. 'गोसहस्रफलं लभेत्' (no variants,).

9. CORRUPTION OF TEXT DURING TRANSMISSION ILLUSTRATED

ततो विनशनं गच्छेन्नियतो नियताशनः ।
गच्छत्यन्तर्हिता यत्र मेरुपृष्ठे सरस्वती ।। (Vana-Parva, 82.11)

The Sarasvatī did not disappear at the Meru, nor is the place *Vinaśana* on the Meru. So the reading 'मेरुपृष्ठे' is wrong. The Padma-P. (I. 25. 18) also reads 'मेरुपृष्ठे' in this context. The original reading was 'मरुपृष्ठे' (in the desert), as is given in the Critical Edition of the Mbh. (III 80. 118 d), although some of its MSS, even of different versions, read 'मेरुपृष्ठे'.

12. BHUVANA-KOŚA CHAPTERS IN PURĀṆAS AND THE POSITIONS OF THE NINE VARṢA-S OF JAMBU-DVĪPA.

The Bhuvana-Kośa Chapters are contained also in several other Purāṇas; such as Agni, Bhāgawata, Brahma, Brahmaṇḍa, Kūrma, Liṅga, Padma, Śiva, and Devī Bhāg. These chapters state the positions of the nine *Varṣa*-s of Jambu-Dvīpa as situated in different Directions, and also their association with the different *Varṣa*- (or *Maryādā*-) *Parvata*-s.

The Bhāgavata-Purāṇa statement is very clear, which is as follows :—

यस्मिन् नववर्षाणि नवयोजनसहस्रायामानि··· ।। उत्तरोत्तरेणेलावृतं नीलः श्वेतः शृङ्गवानिति त्रयो रम्यकहिरण्मयकुरूणां वर्षाणां मर्यादागिरयः प्रागायता उभयतः क्षारोदावधयो···।। एवं दक्षिणेनेलावृतं निषधो हेमकूटो हिमालय इति प्रागायता यथा नीलादयोऽयुतयोजनोत्सेधा हरिवर्ष-किंपुरुष-भारतानां यथासंख्यम् ।। तथैवेलावृतमपरेण पूर्वेण च माल्यवद्-गन्धमादनौ (गन्धमादनमाल्यवन्तौ?) आनीलनिषधायतौ··· ··· ··· ··· केतुमालभद्राश्वयोः सीमानं विदधाते ।। (Bhāg.-P., V. 16. 8-10)

19. USE OF प्रथमा FOR द्वितीया FURTHER ILLUSTRATED.

(1) ततोऽग्नयस्त्रिभिर्नेत्रैर्दुःसमं समवैक्षत । (5. 25 ab)

(2) सप्त सारस्वतः प्रादान्मातरश्चतुरोऽद्भुताः । (57. 92 cd)

(3) एतानि भूतानि गणाश्च मातरो दृष्ट्वा महात्मा विनतातनूजः । *ibid.* 102cd)

(4) देवाना मातरो दृष्ट्वा देवपत्न्यस्तथैव च ।
स्कन्नं शुक्रं महाराज ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ॥
(Matsya, Jīvānanda edn., 194. 7)

As alredy stated, this use of प्रथमा for द्वितीया is perhaps due to the influence of Prākṛta See for detailed discussion my article referred to in fn. 18 of this article.

A CONSIDERATION OF MAHĪSĀGARA SAṄGAMA TIRTHA

BY

R. N. MEHTA

[पुराणपत्रिकायाः IV. 1 ; V. 2 अङ्कयोः 'महीसागरसंगम' तीर्थस्य विषये विमर्शः आसीत् । अस्मिन् लघुनिबन्धे तत्सम्बन्धे पुनः विवेचनं कृतम् । संलग्नचित्रे तत्समीपवर्तिस्थानानां प्रदर्शनं च वर्तते ।]

In a discussion about *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* two opinions were expressed by V.M. Bedekar and D C. Sircar in the Purāṇam Vol. IV No. 1 p. 197 ff.[1] and Purāṇam Vol. V. No. 2 p. 352 ff[2] respectively. V.M. Bedekar expressed the opinion that *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* is "at the meeting-place of the earth and the sea." This opinion was aptly refuted by D. C. Sircar in the second paper. Here he showed that *Mahīsāgārsaṅgama* is the confluence of the *Mahī* and the sea. This opinion is very well corroborated by the *Skanda Purāṇa* in its *kumārikā khaṇḍa*, which is cited by Shri Bedekar. The relevant part of the *Skanda Purāṇa* is an interesting work of about the 17th century A.D[3]. In chapter 39 describing the *Barkareśvara* it is clearly mentioned that the girl with goat-face intends to go to *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* and goes to *Stambhatīrtha* (39-69-94).

This indicates that the place where the goat died and where the temple of *Barkareśvara* exists is very near the

1. Bedekar V.M., *The Legend of Chirakārin in the Skanda Mahāpurāṇa and the Mahābhārata: A Comparative study*, Purāṇam Vol. IV. No. 1 p. 107.

2. Sircar D.C. *Mahīsāgara-saṅgama*, Purāṇam Vol. V. No. 2 p. 352.

3. Bedekar V.M., *Op. cit*, feels that this is later than 700 A. D. but the present author has discussed the date *of this part of Skanda purāṇa in Kaumārikakhaṇḍa, A study*, journal of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vol X IV, No 1, P 39 ff, where it is pointed out that the work belongs probably to the 17th cent. A.D.

Mahīsāgarasaṅgama. The present day position of the said temp of *Barkareśvara* is in the same situation (Fig. 1).

The other evidence comes from chapter 52 where *Koṭītīrth* is noted. This *Koṭītīrtha* is a cremation ground near a *Śiv* temple to the north of *Nāgara*, which is situated at a distanc of about 5 Kilometers to the north of Cambay (Fig. 1).

The local custom of throwing the post-cremation material in the *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* is clearly noted in the *Kaumārika Khaṇḍa* as :—

> Asya tīre Dehadāho Yasya Kasya Prajāyate ।
> Asthikṣepo Yasya Bhaven Mahīsāgarasaṅgame. ॥
> 52.54

These two references from the text clearly indicate that th *Mahīsāgarasaṅgama* is the confluence of the Mahī with the gulf o Cambay as rightly inferred by D.C. Sircar.

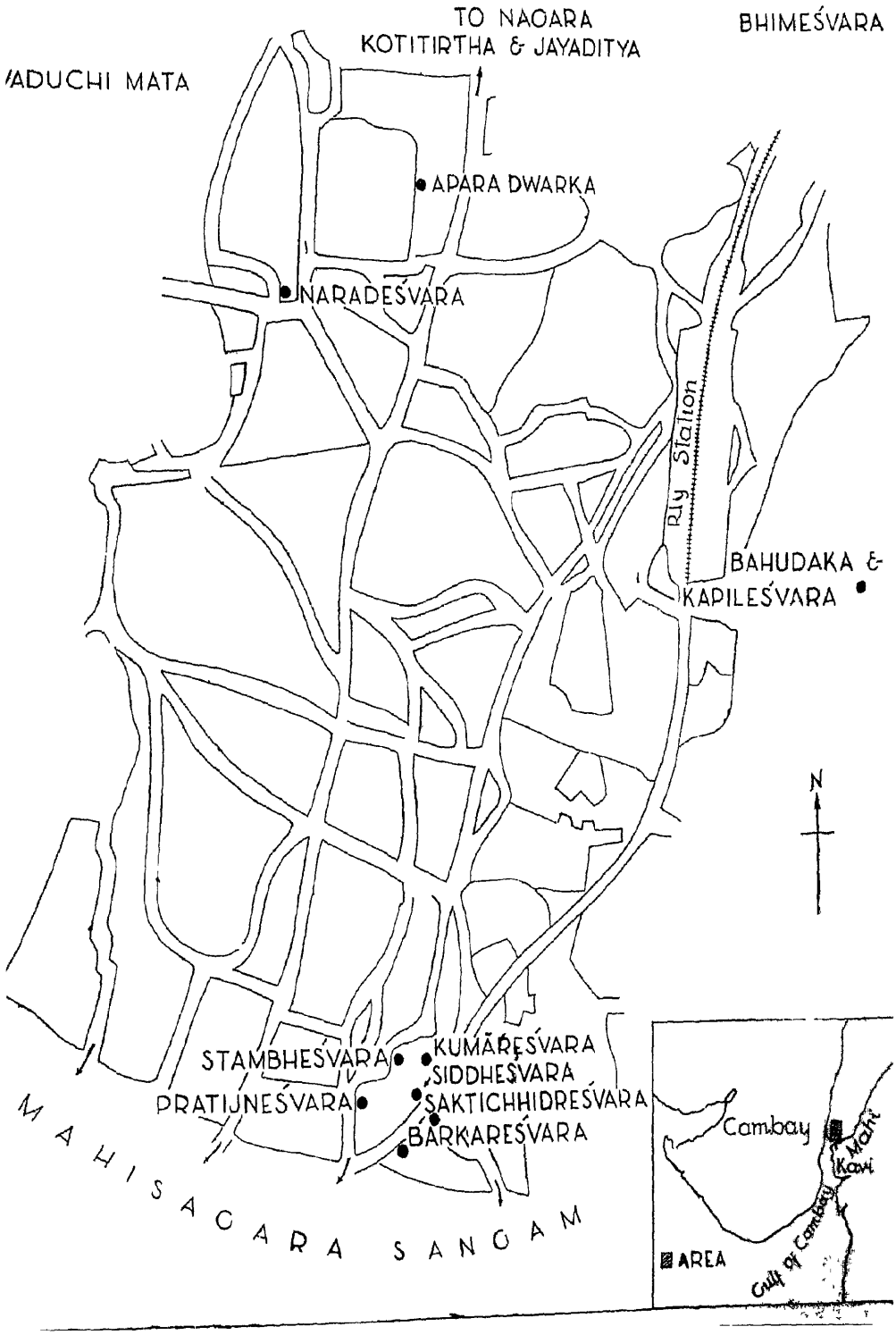
Incidently it may be noted that most of the tīrtha mentioned in the *Kaumārikākhaṇḍa* are situated in and aroun Cambay as could be seen from the attached map of the are (Fig. 1)

The author of this *Tīrtha Māhātmya* is *Nārada* according to *Skanda purāṇa*. It is interesting to note that *Nāradīya* Brahmins exist in and around Cambay till this date and claim to be a section of the Audīcya Brahmins[4]. It may be very likely that some *Nāradīya* Brahmin might be responsible for the writing of this part of the *Skanda purāṇa*. Such authorship is not unknown. The *Nāgarakhaṇḍa* a part of the *Shandapurāṇa* is most probably written by a *Nāgara* Brahmin. The *Malla purāṇa* was also written by an Audīcya Brahmin as is clearly known from it[5].

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4. Mehta R.N. *Kumarikā-khaṇḍa*, Ane *Khambhāt*, Svādhyaya (Gujarati) Vol. 11 No. 4 Page 460 ff.
5. Sandesra B.J. & Mehta R.N. *Mallapurāṇam*, G. O. series No. 144 p.7,

TIRTHAS AROUND CAMBAY



IN MEMORIAM

DR. VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA

Dr. Vasudeva Saran Agrawala left this world of mortals on the night of 26–27 July last. In his death India has lost a great versatile scholar of international fame, a profound and veteran Indologist having a unique command over the various branches of Indian learning, a real interpreter and a true lover of ancient Indian art and culture, and a great and noble soul ever striving to lead a life of perfect simplicity and high morality.

Dr. Agrawala's regard for the Vedas and the Purāṇas, the two high pillars of the great Hindu religion and the ancient Indian culture, was immense. Even in his student-life he had a great inclination for the study of these two important *Bhāratīya Vidyās*. In his career as a Curator, Superintendent or Director of various Archaeological Museums of India (*viz.* Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura, 1929-40; State Museum, Lucknow, 1941-1946, Central Asian Antiquites Museum, New Delhi, 1946-1949; National Museum of India, 1949-1951), he wrote several studies on the Vedas and the Purāṇas. But in his later life as a Professor of Art and Architecture in the College of Indology of the Banaras Hindu University, he devoted almost all his spare time to the study and interpretation of this important and sacred literature of India. With his profound faith in the words of the ancient Vedic and Purāṇic Ṛṣis, accompanied with his deep critical insight of most modern type, he worked day and night on this sacred mission of his life with an unabated zeal, and that too inspite of his weak and shattered health.

Dr. Agrawala's almost new symbolical approach to the Vedic interpretation has unfolded many a new truths hidden in the depth of the Vedic thoughts. He held that the symbolical approach "is the open seasame to Vedic exegesis. It opens a new door and puts us in possession of an unprecedented richness of meanings", for, to put in his own words, 'symbols are the language

of metaphysics as words are of philosophy; lexical meanings of words are, therfore, inadequate for the understanding of the Vedas; it is essentially the language of the symbols that unlocks the real significance of Vedic thoughts." And because the Purāṇas are held as an amplification, *Upabṛṁhaṇa*, of the Vedas, and as 'Vedas hold the key to the Purāṇas', the correct interpretation of the Vedas leads to the correct interpretation of the Purāṇas also So, side by side with his work of symbolic interpretation of the Vedas he took up to write several Purāṇic studies also, unfolding the real essence of the Purāṇic conception of various deities, interpreting the various *ākhyānas* and the religious material contained in the Purāṇas, and bringing out the rich cultural material forming an important part of the vast Purāṇic literature. For him the Vedas were really the most ancient works on the *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā* or cosmology and cosmogony which also formed the main topic of the Purāṇas. This idea of the Vedic *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā* pervades all his works of Vedic and Purāṇic studies.

This unique contribution of Dr. Agrawala to Vedic symbolism and Purāṇic interpretation has been highly appreciated at least in the West, and many Western Indologists regard him as their *Guru* in this field. Here in India also, a time will come when his works on Vedic symbolism and Purāṇa-Vidyā will begin to be studied and appreciated more and more. In fact, as Ruskin said, in order to understand and appreciate an author we have also to feel with him.

His contribution to Indian art is of no less value. He interpreted and brought out the religious and spiritual conception of the ancient Indian artists, on which their aesthetic sense had worked to produce the works of inspiring art of exquisite beauty and of permanent value. His approach to Indian art was a real Indian approach, according to which Indian art is not to be studied from a purely aesthetic point of view, but its esoteric and spiritual meanings are also to be studied and unfolded. According to him the permanent spiritual values of life had been cast into

an aesthetic mould that we call art'. And he always held it his sacred duty to interpret and unfold these permanent spiritual values of Indian art.

To the All-India Kashiraj Trust his death is an irreparable loss. He had been intimately connected with its Purāṇa-Department and Purāṇa-activities from the very beginning. In fact, it was he who had prompted the Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, who himself is a great lover and scholar of the Purāṇas, to organise the work on the Purāṇas, a great desideratum of the time, and the Purāṇa-Department was the result. Under his advice a Purāṇa-Committee was formed, and he continued to be an important member of this Committee, till his death snatched him from us.

In January 1960 he was entrusted by His Highness the work of editing the '*Purāṇa*' Bulletin, Vol. I. No. 2 issue of which was to be published on the Vasanta Pañcamī day (in the beginning of February, 1960). Dr. Agrawala undertook to bring out the Bulletin in time. Hardly a month's time was at his disposal. He at once started to write to the scholars of different places for the contribution of the articles to the *Purāṇa*. At his request a sufficient number of articles came. He worked day and night for the Bulletin, writing his own articles for it, scrutinising the articles sent by the other scholars, and editing them. It was a Herculian task, indeed, to publish this Journal in such a short time. But he was always true to his words. The hard and continuous work which he had to put up to publish this Bulletin in such a short time did not depress his spirits. I had to assist him in this difficult task, and so I had to stay with him at his own residence in the B. H. U. During this time I had a chance to study him closely. To me he appeared as a great saint and *tapasvin*. It was a real miracle when on the appointed date, the Vasanta Pañcamī day, he placed a printed copy of the '*Purāṇa*' in the hands of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji. He remained on the Editorial Board of the *Purāṇa* Bulletin up to the end of his life. He contributed learned articles

and notes to nearly all the issues of the *Purāṇa* ; except when he was confined to bed.

During my stay with him, I used to accompany him on his early morning walk, and found him full of inspiration for the symbolic interpretation of the esoteric meaning of various Vedic and Purāṇic statements. During this morning walk he often used to halt suddenly and begin to explain the hidden meaning of the Vedic and Purāṇic *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā*, which in his opinion, was the main topic of the Vedas. Later on I found out that the Purāṇas also hold the Vedas as the works on the *Sṛṣṭi-Vidyā* (cf. Skanda Purāṇa, Avantī-khaṇḍa, Revā-khaṇḍa, 9.40, and also Vaiṣṇava-khaṇḍa, Badrikāśrama-Māhātmya. 9.10.).

When in March-April 1960 he was confined to bed in the B.H.U. Hospital, I always found him there lying calmly and studying the text of the Rgveda. But when in his last days he was again admitted to the B. H. U. Hospital, he often lay unconscious. But whenever he gained his consciousness and I happened to be there at that time, he would always inquire of me if the Vyāsa-Pūrṇimā Number (July Issue) of the *Purāṇa* Bulletin was published. Often he was absorbed there in deep meditation with folding hands. If a Sanskrit Pandit came there to visit him, he would request that Paṇḍita to recite some *stotras*, and he would listen to them with deep reverence and with his eyes closed.

He had a high regard for H. H. Maharaja Vibhuti Narain Singh Ji and for his work for the Purāṇas. On 28.7.62 he woke up at night at about 3 A.M. and wrote in my presence a letter to His highness containing the following touching words :—

'आप जैसा आवश्यक समझें मेरा उपयोग कर सकते है। स्वास्थ्य की वर्त्तमान मर्यादा के भीतर मैं आज्ञा का पालन करूँगा। अर्थ की छाया से विरहित मेरा भास्वर मन आपको अर्पित है। क्योंकि आपने पुराणो का यह बड़ा कार्य उठाया है।'

He always co-operated with the Purāṇa work of the Kashiraj Trust. Besides contributing his learned articles to the '*Purāṇa*' Bulletin, he also prepared for the Trust several studies on the Purāṇas, viz. *The Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, and the

Glorification of the Great Goddess or the Devī-Māhātmya. He guided the work of the Critical Edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa. In his Presidential address at the Gauhati Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, he referred to and appreciated the Purāṇa-work of the Kashiraj Trust.

Throughout his scholarly life he strived to preserve and follow the *paths of light* made by the ancient Vedic sages, and thus he actually carried out the sacred injunction of the Veda—'ज्योतिष्मतः पथो रक्ष धिया कृतान्'. (RV. 10, 53.6)

We bow and offer our *namaskāra* to the great departed soul in the following words of the Īśa-Upaniṣad :—

भूयिष्ठां ते नम उक्तिं विधेम.

—A. S. GUPTA.

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST

(JULY–DECEMBER, 1966)

CRITICAL EDITIONS OF THE PURĀṆAS

Vāmana Purāṇa :

Besides the collation of the twenty manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāṇa, as already noted in the previous review, a newly acquired Kashmirian manuscript belonging to Shri Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu (Kashmir), is now being collated. It contains a Sanskrit commentary by Pt. Ramacandra Bhaṭṭa, a Kashmirian Pandit in the times of Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir about a hundred years ago. This commentary is also being noted separately, and is intended to be published along with the English and Hindi translations of the Vāmana-Purāṇa. We have also procured another Śāradā Ms. from the Banaras Hindu University Library, which is dated as Śaka 1444 (A.D. 1522) the oldest dated manuscript procured up till now by us. It is also being utilised. An Oriyā manuscript of the Vāmana Purāṇa has also been procured from Sri Raghunandan Library, Puri (Orissa). But it deals with Kṛṣṇa, Gopīs and Bṛndāvana. It is being studied to find out if it is a part of the Bṛhad Vāmana Purāṇa.

From amongst the south Indian manuscripts of the Vāmana Purāṇa we have been able to procure only three manuscripts—one Telugu, one Nandināgarī and one Devanāgarī. These have been collated. But it is rather strange that inspite of our best efforts we have not been able to trace any available Grantha or Malayalam manuscript of the Vāmana Purāṇa. The Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, the Govt. Oriented Mss. Library, Madras, and the Keral University Library, Trivendrum, all have informed us that they do not have any Grantha or Malayalam manuscript of the Vāmana Purāṇa. So we have to go without them.

काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जुलाई-दिसम्बर १९६६)

पुराणानां पाठसमीक्षात्मकानि संस्करणानि

ामनपुराणकार्यम्

यथा पूर्वकार्यविवरणे सूचितं यद् वामनपुराणस्य विंशत्या हस्तलेखानां ाठसंवादकार्यं पूर्वं कृतमासीत्। इदानीं तु रघुनन्दनपुस्तकालय, जम्मू काश्मीर) तः प्राप्तस्य एकस्य नवीनहस्तलेखस्य पाठसंवादः प्रचलति। अस्मिन् स्तलेखे काश्मीरनरेशश्रीरणवीरसिंहसमकालीनस्य रामचन्द्रभट्टनाम्नः ाश्मीरीयपण्डितस्य, टीकाऽपि वर्तते। एषा टीका वामनपुराणस्य हिन्दी-ांग्लभाषानुवादे प्रकाशयितुम् इष्यते। काशीहिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयतः एकः अपरः ारदालिप्यां लिखितः हस्तलेखोऽपि अस्माभिः लब्धः। अस्य लेखनकालः ४४४ शकसंवत् (ई० सन् १५२२) वर्तते। अयं हस्तलेखः अस्माभिः ावादितेषु सर्वेषु हस्तलेखेषु प्राचीनतमोस्ति। अस्यापि उपयोगः करिष्यते। ामनपुराणनामभाक् एकः उत्कललिप्यां लिखितः हस्तलेखोऽपि अस्माभिः प्राप्तः। ा तु अस्मिन् हस्तलेखे कृष्ण-गोपी-राधा-वृन्दावनादिविषयाः वर्णिताः प्रतीयन्ते। । हस्तलेखः अनुसंधीयते यत् संभवतः बृहद्वामनाभिधपुराणस्य कश्चित् अंशो ात्।

दक्षिणभारतीयहस्तलेखेषु अस्माभिः त्रय एव कोशा उपलब्धाः—एकः ग्रन्थलिपिकोशः, एकः नन्दिनागरीलिपिकोशः, अन्यश्च देवनागरीलिप्याम्। इदं आश्चर्यं यदस्माकं प्रयत्नानन्तरमपि ग्रन्थलिप्यां, मलयालमलिप्यां वा लिखितः ऽपि हस्तलेखः न प्राप्तः। तञ्जोरस्य सरस्वतीमहलपुस्तकालयः मद्रासस्थो ाकीयप्राच्यहस्तलेखपुस्तकालयः, केरलविश्वविद्यालयपुस्तकालयः—इत्येतेषाम-ाधिकारिभिः सूचितं यत् तत्र मलयालमलिप्यां ग्रन्थलिप्यां वा वामनपुराणस्य स्तलेखो न वर्त्तते। अतोऽस्माभिः तस्याभावे एव कार्यं क्रियते।

In connection with the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa Shri Anand Swarup Gupta went to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in October and discussed some points with Dr. P. L. Vaidya and Dr. R. N. Dandekar, who were very helpful and hospitable and gave some suggestions regarding the critical apparatus. The Kashiraj Trust is thankful to them for their kind and valuable co-operation.

The matter of the critical edition of the Vāmana Purāṇa is now being sent to the Press, and by God's grace we expect to bring it out by the time of the session of the International Congress of Orientalists to be held in August 1967 in U. S. A.

Kūrma Purāṇa :—

The Collation of the three Devanāgarī manuscripts of the Kūrma Purāṇa—one from India Office, one from B. O. R. I. Poona, and one from V.V.R.I. Hoshiarpur—have been completed, and are now being checked and compared We have obtained one Devanāgarī Manuscript from the Adyar Libray. It is now being collated. We are also trying to get one Bengali manuscript from Serampur (West Bengal).

Other Work on the Purāṇas

English Translation of the Vāmana Purāṇas

The constituted text of the Vāmana Purāṇa is being translated into Eaglish by Prof. Satyansu Mohan Mukhopadhyaya of Varanasi on behalf of the Kashiraj Trust. The work will be completed in a few months.

Hindi Translation of the Vāmana Purāṇa :

The Kashiraj Trust has got the Vāmana Purāṇa translated into Hindi by Pt. Gopal Chandra Shastri of Varanasi. The translation has been completed and is now being revised.

वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकसंस्करणस्य सम्बन्धे श्रीआनन्दस्वरूपगुप्तः अक्टूबरमासे पुण्यपत्तनस्थभाण्डारकर-ओरियण्टल-रिसर्च-इन्स्टीच्यूट नाम्नीं संस्थां गतः। तत्र डा० पी० एल० वैद्यमहोदयैः, डा० आर० एन० दाण्डेकर-महोदयैः च सह विचारविमर्शं कृतवान्। तैः महाभागैः अतीवसौमनस्यं प्रदर्शितम्। तैः पाठसमीक्षाविवरण (Critical Apparatus) विषये केचित्परामर्शाः दत्ताः। काशिराजन्यासः तान् प्रति तेषां सहयोगाय कृतज्ञो वर्तते।

वामनपुराणस्य पाठसमीक्षात्मकं संस्करणं (Critical Edition) मुद्रणार्थं मुद्राणालये प्रदीयमानं वर्तते। ईश्वरानुकम्पया आशास्महे यदिदं संस्करणम् अगस्त १९६७ समये अमरीकादेशे संभाव्यमानस्य अन्तरराष्ट्रीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्या-वसरे प्रकाशितं भविष्यति।

कूर्मपुराण-कार्यम्

कूर्मपुराणस्य त्रयो हस्तलेखाः संवादिताः—एकः इण्डियाआफिस, लाइब्रेरी, लण्डन इत्यस्य अपरः 'भाण्डारकरओरियण्टलरिसर्चइन्स्टीच्यूट' संस्थायाः तृतीयश्च विश्वेश्वरानन्दशोधसंस्थान होशियारपुर, इत्यस्य। एषां हस्तलेखानां परीक्षा तुलना च संप्रति क्रियते। अद्ध्यार लाइब्रेरी'तः एकः देवनागरी हस्तलेखोऽपि प्राप्तः। अस्य पाठसंवादः प्रचलति। सीरामपुर(पश्चिमबंगाल) तः एकस्य वंगीयहस्तलेखस्य प्राप्तये प्रयत्नः प्रचलति।

पुराणसम्बन्धीनि इतरकार्याणि

वामनपुराणस्य आंग्लभाषानुवादः

काशिराजन्यासाय वामनपुराणस्य आंग्लभाषानुवादः काशीवास्तव्येन प्रो० सत्यांशुमोहनमुखोपाध्यायमहोदयेन क्रियते। कतिपयमासेषु एष पूर्णो भविष्यति।

वामनपुराणस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवादः

वामनपुराणस्य हिन्दीभाषानुवादः काशिराजन्यासाय काशीवास्तव्येन श्री गोपालचन्द्रशास्त्रिणा कृतः। अनुवादः पूर्णो जातः संप्रति पुनरीक्षणे वर्तते।

Collection of Vāmana Purāṇa quotations from the Nibandha-granthas :

Vāmana Purāṇa quotations have been collected, during the period under review, from the following Nibandhas and Smṛti-ṭīkās :—

दानसागर, कृत्यकल्पतरु, हेमाद्रि-चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, तीर्थचिन्तामणि, वीरमित्रोदय (all the available Khaṇḍas), स्मृतितत्त्व, यात्रातत्त्व, नित्याचारप्रदीप, त्रिस्थलीसेतु, समयमयूख, आचारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख, दानमयूख, विधानपारिजात, कृत्य-रत्नाकर, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, शुद्धिकौमुदी, वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, कालविवेक, स्मृतिचन्द्रिका, स्मृतिमुक्ताफल, मदनपारिजात, नृसिंहप्रसाद, तीर्थसार, कालतत्त्वविवेचन, शूद्राचारशिरोमणि, पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणि, कालसार, आचारादर्श, आचाररत्न, जयसिंह-कल्पद्रुम, पराशरमाधवटीका and विद्वन्मनोहराटीका of पराशरस्मृति, and अपरार्कटीका of याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृति.

Searching of the Vāmana Purāṇa topics and parallel ślokas in other Purāṇas :

The Vāmana Purāṇa topics have been searched in all the Mahāpurāṇas, the Śiva Purāṇa and the Devī-Bhāgavata. The parallel ślokas of the Vāmana Purāṇa have also been traced in all the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas, Śiva Purāṇa and the Devī Bhāgavata. The Viṣṇu-dharmottara Purāṇa will also be taken now for this purpose.

The edition of the Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa :

Ten Chapters of the Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa have already been published in the previous issues of the Purāṇa Bulletin. Dr. Raghavan has sent six further chapters of the Svalpa Matsya for publication in the 'Purāṇa'. He has now also acquired a London manuscript of the Svalpa Matsya, which is also being utilised for the Svalpa Matsya edition, besides the Assamese manuscript.

Publications of the Kashiraj Trust

During this period the following works have been published :

1. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa-Viṣaya-Sūcī (The Subject-Index of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) by Pt. Madhvacharya Adya of the Purāṇa

बन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः वामनपुराणोद्धरणानां संग्रहः

अस्मिन् समये अधोनिर्दिष्टनिबन्धग्रन्थेभ्यः स्मृतिग्रन्थेभ्यश्च वामनपुराणस्योद्धरणानां संकलनं कृतम्—

दानसागर, कृत्यकल्पतरु, हेमाद्रि—चतुर्वर्गचिन्तामणि, तीर्थचिन्तामणि, मित्रोदय (उपलब्धानि सर्वाणि संस्करणानि) स्मृतितत्त्व, नित्याचारप्रदीप, स्थलीसेतु, समयमयूख, आचारमयूख, श्राद्धमयूख, दानमयूख, विधानपारिजात, व्यवहाररत्नाकर, गृहस्थरत्नाकर, शुद्धिकौमुदी, वर्षक्रियाकौमुदी, श्राद्धक्रियाकौमुदी, कालविवेक, स्मृतिमुक्ताफल, मदनपारिजात, नृसिंहप्रसाद, तीर्थसार, कालतत्त्वविवेचन, शूद्राचारशिरोमणि, कालसार, आचारादर्श, आचाररत्न, जयसिंहकल्पद्रुम, एते निबन्धग्रन्थाः तथा पराशरमाधवाख्या विद्वन्मनोहराख्या च टीके पराशरस्मृतेः, याज्ञवल्क्यस्मृतेः अपरार्क टीका च।

वामनपुराणस्य समानविषयाणां समान श्लोकानां च अन्यपुराणेषु अन्वेषणम्—

वामनपुराणस्य विषयाणां अष्टादशमहापुराणेषु शिवपुराणे, देवीभागवतपुराणे अन्वेषणं कृतम्। समानश्लोकानामपि अष्टादशमहापुराणेषु शिवपुराणे देवीभागवते च अन्वेषणं कृतम्। विष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणे तेषाम् अन्वेषणं क्रियते।

स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य संस्करणम्

स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य दश अध्यायानां प्रकाशनं 'पुराण' पत्रिकायाः गताङ्केषु कृतम्। डा० राघवन्महोदयैः पुराणपत्रिकायां प्रकाशनार्थं अन्येऽपि षडध्यायाः प्रेषिताः। इदानीं तैर्महोदयैः स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणस्य एको हस्तलेखः लण्डननगरेऽधिगतः। असमदेशीयहस्तलेखातिरिक्तं अस्य हस्तलेखस्यापि सम्पादने उपयोगं कुर्वन्ति।

काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रकाशनानि

अस्मिन्काले अधोनिर्दिष्टाः ग्रन्थाः प्रकाशिताः

१. विष्णुपुराणविषयसूची—श्रीमध्वाचार्य आद्येन निर्मिता। एषा पुराणपत्रिकायां

Department. It is a reprint of the Viṣaya-Sūcī published in 'Purāṇa' Vol. VIII. 1. Scholars are requested to send their valuable suggestions.

2. A new Abridged Version of the Bṛhaspati-Saṁhitā of the Garuḍa Purāṇa By Dr. L. Sternbach. It is also a reprint in the book-form of his article published in the 'Purāṇa' VIII. 2. It is a critical edition of the Manuscript-Add. 1040 of the University Library, Cambridge. This edition contains a learned introduction, critical apparatus and the critical text of the above manuscript, which is an abridged version of the Nīti-Adhyāyas of the Garuḍa Purāṇa.

VEDA PĀRĀYAṆA

In the month of last Āṣāḍha (June-July) the recitation by memory of the whole of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda Saṁhitā (Taittirīya Śākhā) was arranged during the whole of the bright half of this month (19th June-2nd July) in the Vyāsa temple of the Ramnagar Fort. The reciter was Pt. Narayana Ramchandra Datar of Varanasi. At the conclusion of the Pārāyaṇa the reciter was awarded a certificate of merit and a gold-bracelet by H. H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh.

PURĀṆA-GOṢṬHĪ

After the Pārāyaṇa a Purāṇa-goṣṭhī was also arranged in the Śivala Palace of Varanasi. Many local Scholars and Pandits participated. A report containing the brief review of the Purāṇa-work of the Kashiraj Trust was read. Some Ślokas of the Vāmana Purāṇa were discussed with a view to elicit their correct text and explanation. Dr. Surendra Nath Shastri, Vice-Chancellor of the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University suggested that the Kashiraj Trust should republish those printed editions of the Purāṇas which are now out of print. The idea was appreciated, and the Chairman of the Goṣṭhī, H.H. Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh, promised to consider the scheme.

PURĀṆA-PĀṬHA AND PRAVACANA

In the month of Kārtika from November 9 to 15 the Nāradīya Purāṇa was recited in the Padmanābha temple of

(VIII. 1) प्रकाशितायाः विष्णुपुराणविषयसूच्या पुनर्मुद्रणरूपास्ति। विद्वांसः स्वस्वसम्मतिप्रदानार्थं प्रार्थ्यन्ते।

२. गरुणपुराणस्य बृहस्पतिसंहिताया एको नवीनः संक्षिप्त पाठः—अयमपि पुराणपत्रिका (८।२) तः पुनर्मुद्रणं वर्तते। अयम् कैम्ब्रिजविश्वविद्यालयस्य १०४० संख्यात्मकस्य हस्तलेखस्य समीक्षितसंस्करणमस्ति। अस्मिन् ग्रंथे हस्तलेखस्य विद्वत्तापूर्णा भूमिका, पाठविवरणं, समीक्षात्मकः पाठश्च वर्तते। अयं हस्तलेखः गरुणपुराणस्य 'नीति' अध्यायानां संक्षिप्तं रूपं वर्तते।

वेदपारायणम्

गते आषाढमासे (जून-जुलाई) रामनगरदुर्गस्थितस्य व्यासमन्दिरे सम्पूर्ण-कृष्णयजुर्वेदस्य (तैत्तिरीयशाखायाः) कण्ठाग्रं पारायणं सम्पूर्णे शुक्लपक्षे (१९ जून-२ जुलाई) सम्पादितम्। पारायणं तु वाराणसेयेन पं० नारायणरामचन्द्र-दातारमहोदयेन कृतम्। पारायणसमाप्तौ पाठकर्त्रे तत्र भवद्भि ; काशीनरेशैः डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः एकं स्वर्णकङ्कणम् प्रमाणपत्रं च प्रदत्तम्।

पुराणगोष्ठी

पारायणसमाप्त्यवसरे वाराणस्यां काशिराजन्यासस्य शिवालाप्रासादे एका पुराणगोष्ठी आयोजिता आसीत् यस्यांस्थानीया अनेके विद्वांस उपस्थिता आसन्। काशीराजन्यासस्य पुराणसंबन्धि कार्यविवरणम् गोष्ठ्यां पठितम्। वामनपुराणस्य केषाञ्चित् श्लोकानामपि पाठनिर्णयार्थम् अर्थसौकर्याय च विमर्शः जातः। वाराणसेय-संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उपकुलपतिना डा० सुरेन्द्रनाथशास्त्रिणा प्रस्तावितम् यत् काशिराजन्यासेन तेषां पुराणानां प्रकाशनं करणीयं येषां संस्करणानि अनुपलब्धानि जातानि। गोष्ठ्या अध्यक्षैस्तत्रभवद्भिः काशिनरेशै डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंहमहोदयैः योजनां विचारयितुं स्वीकृतम्।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

कार्तिकमासे ९ नवम्बरतः १५ नवम्बरं यावत् रामनगरस्थितस्य पद्मनाभ-

Ramnagar. The discourses on it were given by Pt. Prem Vallabha Tripathi, Professor of Dharmasāstra in the Vārāṇaseya Sanskrit University.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

Vāmana-Jayantī

On भाद्र शुक्ल द्वादशी (26 Sept. 1966) the Vāmana Jayanti was celebrated in the Purāṇa Dept. The Pūjā was performed and the prasāda was distributed. His Highness Maharaja Kashinaresh, Maharaj Kumar Dr. Raghubir Singh, and Shri Jagdish Munshi also participated.

All India Oriental Conference

The XXII Session of the All India Oriental Conference was held at Aligarh under the auspices of the Aligarh Muslim University on Oct. 27-29 on behalf of the Kashiraj Trust Shri Anand Swarup Gupta attended this Session, and read his following two papers in the classical Section.

1. Nature of Textual Criticism in Sankrit Literature.
2. Problems of the Textual Reconstruction of the Vāmana Purāṇa.

He also contacted some scholers and acquainted them with the nature and progress of the Purāṇa-work of the Trust.

The General President, Dr. A. N. Upadhye, referred to and appreciated the Purāṇa-work of the Kashiraj Trust in his Presidential speach.

Distinguished Guests and Visitors

The following were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singhji in the Nadesar House during the period :-

1. Shri Jagjiwan Ram, Minister for Labour, Govt. of India. (3. 7. 66).
2. Dr. R. K. Sharma, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India. (31. 7. 66 ; 30. 12. 66).
3. Prof. W. P. Lehman. (20. 8. 66).
4. Shri Morar Ji Desai. (29. 8. 66).

मन्दिरे नारदीयपुराणस्य पाठः प्रवचनं च कृतम्। अस्य प्रवचनं च श्रीप्रेमवल्लभ-त्रिपाठिना कृतम्।

अन्यकार्याणि

वामनजयन्ती

भाद्रशुक्लद्वादश्यां (२६ सितम्बर १९६६) पुराणविभागे वामनजयन्ती आयोजिताऽऽसीत्। वामनभगवतः पूजानन्तरं प्रसादवितरणं जातम्। तत्र भवान् काशिनरेशः, महाराजकुमार डा० रघुबीरसिंहः तथा श्रीजगदीश मुंशी महोदया उपस्थिता आसन्।

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनम्—

अक्टूबरमासस्य २७-२९ दिनाङ्केषु अलीगढ़विश्वविद्यालयस्य तत्त्वावधाने अखिलभारतीय प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य द्वाविंशतितमं अधिवेशनं संयोजितम्। काशिराजन्यासस्य प्रतिनिधिरूपेण श्रीआनन्दस्वरूप गुप्तः अधिवेशने उपस्थितः आसीत् तेन इमौ निबन्धौ पठितौ—

(१) संस्कृतसाहित्ये पाठसमीक्षास्वरूपम्

(२) वामनपुराणस्य पाठसंपादनस्य समस्या

तेन कैश्चिद् विद्वद्भिः सह संपर्कश्च स्थापितः। ते पुराणकार्यविषये अवगताश्च कृताः। अधिवेशनाध्यक्षैः श्री ए० एन० उपाध्येमहोदयैः स्वीये अध्यक्षीयभाषणे न्यासस्य पुराणकार्यस्य उल्लेखः प्रशंसनं च कृतम्।

विशिष्टा अतिथयः

अस्मिन् समये अधोनिर्दिष्टाः सज्जनाः तत्र भवतः काशिनरेशस्य नदेसर भवने अतिथय आसन्—

१. केन्द्रीय श्रममन्त्री श्रीजगजीवनरामः (३-७-६६)

२. शिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य डा० आर० के० शर्मा (३१-७-६६, ३०-१२-६६)

३. प्रो० डब्ल्यू० पी० लेहमान् (२०-८-६६)

४. श्रीमोरारजी देसाई (२९-८-६६)

5. Shri Kantilal Desai. (29-8. 66).
6. Dr. L. Sternbach, U.N.O. (9. 9. 66).
7. The Vice Air Marshal, Delhi. (18. 9. 66).
8. Shri Algu Rai Shastri. (22. 9. 66).
9. Shri Jagdish Munshi. (25. 9. 66).
10. M. K. Dr. Raghubir Singh. (25. 9. 66).
11. Shri Bhagavati Prasad Sinha, Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Nepal. (Nov. 1966).
12. Shri Dharmendra B. Singh, Judge, Supreme Court, Nepal.

The following scholars visited the Purāṇā-Department of the Kashiraj Trust and appreciated its Purāṇa-work :—

1. Dr. V. Raghavan, Professor and Head of the Sanskrit Department, Madras University, and Member of our Purāṇa committee.
2. Dr. R. K. Sharma, Asstt. Educational Adviser, Ministry of Education, Government of India, and Member of our Purāṇa-Committee.
3. Prof S. K. Dave, Prof. of Sanskrit, S. J. Arts & Commerce College, Siddhpur (Gujaret).
4. Diwan Bahadur Shri Kameshwar Naryan Singh, Vidyālankār, Narhan (Bihar).
5. Dr. L. Sternbach, Hon. Prof. of Dharmaśāstra and Ancient Indian Culture, Senior Officer, United Nations, New York (8. 9. 66).
6. M. K. Dr. Raghubir Singh, Sitamau, Malwa, Member of the Kashiraj Trust. (26. 9. 66)
7. Shri Jagadish Munshi, Advocace, Bombay. (26. 9. 66).
8. M. M. Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur.
9. Dr. S. N. Shastri, V. C. Varanaseya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya, Varanasi. 30. 12. 66).

The Trust is grateful to all these scholars for their interest in its Purāṇa-work.

५. श्रीकान्तिलाल देसाई (२९-८-६६)

६. डा० लुडविग स्टर्नबाख् (९-९-६६)

७. वायस एयरमार्शल, दिल्ली, (१८-९-६६)

८. श्री अलगूराय शास्त्री (२२-९-६६)

९. श्री जगदीशमुन्शी (२५-९-६६)

१०. महाराजकुमार डा० रघुवीरसिंहः (२५-९-६६)

११. नेपालराज्यस्य मुख्यन्यायाधीशः श्रीभगवती प्रसाद सिन्हा

१२. नेपालराज्यस्य सर्वोच्चन्यायालयस्य न्यायाधीशः श्रीधर्मेन्द्र बी० सिंहः

अधोनिर्दिष्टा विद्वांसः पुराणविभागं दृष्टवन्तः तस्य पुराणकार्यस्य प्रशंसां च कृतवन्तः ।

१. मद्रपुरीयविश्वविद्यालयस्य संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षः डा० वे० राघवन् महोदयः

२. केन्द्रीय शिक्षामन्त्रालयस्य अधिकारी डा० रामकरण शर्मा महोदयः

३. सिद्धपुर (गुजरात) वास्तव्यः प्रो० एस० के० दवे महोदयः

४. बिहार प्रान्तस्य 'नरहन' निवासी दीवानबहादुर श्रीकामेश्वरनारायणसिंह महोदयः

५. 'युनाइटेड नेसन्स' इत्यस्य डा० स्टर्नबाखमहोदयः

६. महाराजकुमार श्री डा० रघुवीरसिंह महोदयः

७. बम्बई नगरस्य वाकीलः श्रीजगदीशमुन्शी महोदयः

८. महामहोपाध्याय डा० वी० वी० मिराशी महोदयः

९. वाराणसेय संस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य उपकुलपतिः डा० सुरेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री महोदयः

न्यासः एतेभ्यः विद्वद्भ्यः तेषां पुराणकार्ये रुचिप्रदर्शनाय स्वकृतज्ञतां ज्ञापयति ।

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पुराणम्—PURANA

Vol. IX., No. 2] व्यासपूर्णिमाङ्कः [July, 1967

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RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF
'THE ALL-INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST'
ON THE SAD DEMISE OF DR. PANNA LAL

सर्वभारतीय काशिराजन्यास का न्यासीमण्डल डा० पन्नालाल के आकस्मिक निधन पर शोक प्रकट करता है और उनके दुःखी परिवार के प्रति अपनी हार्दिक सहानुभूति एवं समवेदना प्रेषित करता है।

डा० पन्नालालजी सर्वभारतीय काशिराज न्यास के न्यासीमण्डल के आरम्भ से ही केन्द्रीय सरकार द्वारा मनोनीत सदस्य थे। न्यास के कार्यों में आप अधिक रुचि लेते थे तथा इसके विकास-विस्तार में सदैव आपका सहयोग रहा। भारतीय इतिहास, संस्कृति और दर्शन-शास्त्र के आप सूक्ष्म अध्येता थे तथा न्यास के पुराण-कार्य में भी आपकी अभिरुचि थी।

डा० पन्नालालजी एक आध्यात्मिक साधक थे। साधक और विद्वान् होने के अतिरिक्त आप एक कुशल प्रशासक भी थे। आप दो बार वाराणसी के कमिश्नर रहे तथा उस पद पर रहते हुए 'काशीराजदरबार' से भी आपका विशेष संपर्क रहा।

काशिराज न्यास दिवंगत आत्मा के प्रति अपनी श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित करता है और उसकी शान्ति के लिए ईश्वर से प्रार्थना करता है।

व्यास-महिमा

(Mbh., Cri. Edn., Ādi-Parvan, Adh. 1)

नमः कृष्णद्वैपायनाय ॥*

जयति पराशरसूनुः सत्यवतीहृदयनन्दनो व्यासः ।
यस्यास्यकमलकोशे वाङ्मयममृतं पिबति लोकः ॥ 1*

पितामहाद्यं प्रवदन्ति षष्ठं महर्षिमक्षय्यविभूतियुक्तम् ।
नारायणांशजमेकपुत्रं द्वैपायनं वेदनिधिं नमामि ॥ 3*

व्यासं वसिष्ठनप्तारं शक्तेः पौत्रमकल्मषम् ।
पराशरात्मजं वन्दे शुकतातं तपोनिधिम् ॥ 7*

अचतुरवदनो ब्रह्मा द्विबाहुर [परो हरिः ?] ।
अभाललोचनः शम्भुर्भगवान् बादरायणः ॥ 8*

व्यासाय विष्णुरूपाय व्यासरूपाय विष्णवे ।
नमो वै ब्रह्मनिधये वासिष्ठाय नमो नमः ॥ 11*

अभ्रश्यामः पिङ्गजटाबद्धकलापः
प्रांशुर्दण्डी कृष्णमृगत्वक्परिधानः ।
साक्षाल्लोकान् पावयमानः कविमुख्यः
पाराशर्यः पर्वसु रूपं विवृणोतु ॥ 13*

महर्षेः पूजितस्येह सर्वलोके महात्मनः ।
प्रवक्ष्यामि मतं कृत्स्नं व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ॥ २३

तपसा ब्रह्मचर्येण व्यस्य वेदं सनातनम् ।
इतिहासमिमं चक्रे पुण्यं सत्यवतीसुतः ॥ ५२

पुण्ये हिमवतः पादे मेध्ये गिरिगुहालये ।
विशोध्य देहं धर्मात्मा दर्भसंस्तरमाश्रितः ॥
शुचिः सनियमो व्यासः शान्तात्मा तपसि स्थितः ।
भारतस्येतिहासस्य धर्मेणान्वीक्ष्य तां गतिम् ।
प्रविश्य योगं ज्ञानेन सोऽपश्यत् सर्वमन्ततः ॥ 22*

पराशरात्मजो विद्वान् ब्रह्मर्षिः संशितव्रतः ।
मातुर्नियोगाद् धर्मात्मा गाङ्गेयस्य च धीमतः ॥
क्षेत्रे विचित्रवीर्यस्य कृष्णद्वैपायनः पुरा ।
त्रीनग्नीनिव कौरव्याञ्जनयामास वीर्यवान् ॥५३-५४
तेषु जातेषु वृद्धेषु गतेषु परमां गतिम् ।
अब्रवीत् भारतं लोके मानुषेऽस्मिन् महानृषिः ॥५६
लोकानां च हितार्थाय कारुण्यान्मुनिसत्तमः । 65*
अस्योपनिषदं पुण्यां कृष्णद्वैपायनोऽब्रवीत् । १९१ ab
तपोविशिष्टादपि वै वसिष्ठान्मुनिपुंगवात् ।
मन्ये श्रेष्ठतमं त्वाऽद्य रहस्यज्ञानवेदनात् ।
जन्मप्रभृति सत्यां ते विद्म गां ब्रह्मवादिनीम् ।
त्वया च काव्यमित्युक्तं तस्मात् काव्यं भविष्यति ।
जडान्धबधिरोन्मत्तं तमोभूतं जगद् भवेत् ।
यदि ज्ञानहुताशेन त्वया नोज्ज्वलितं भवेत् ।
तमसाऽन्धस्य लोकस्य वेष्टितस्य स्वकर्मभिः ।
ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकाभिर्बुद्धिनेत्रोत्सवः कृतः ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षार्थैः समासव्यासकीर्तनैः ।
त्वया भारतसूर्येण नृणां विनिहतं तमः ।
पुराणपूर्णचन्द्रेण श्रुतिज्योत्स्नाप्रकाशिना ।
नृणां कुमुदसौम्यानां कृतं बुद्धिप्रबोधनम् ।
इतिहासप्रदीपेन मोहावरणघातिना ।
लोकयात्रागतं कृत्स्नं यथावत् संप्रकाशितम् ।

(Appendix I. 1. Lines 31-46)

कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं विभुम् ।
को ह्यन्यः पुण्डरीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद् भवेत् ।
मतिस्थानमधिष्ठाय येन वेदमहार्णवात् ।
जगद्धिताय ननितो महाभारतचन्द्रमाः ।
मूलं कथाश्रितं किं चान्यत् सर्वलोकहितैषिणः ।

वेदाः व्यस्ताः कृतं तेन महाभारतमद्भुतम् ।
सर्वे तरन्तु दुर्गाणि सर्वो भद्राणि पश्यतु ।
इत्युक्त्वा सर्ववेदार्थान्(र्थां?)भारते तेन दर्शिताः ॥

(Appendix I. 3. Lines 1-8)

he great sage Vyāsa who is known as the arranger of the and the original author of the Mahābhārata and the Mahā-Purāṇas, has been rightly glorified and even defied Mahābhārata as well as in the Purāṇas. His various mentioned in the great epic and the Purāṇas are ex- of his supreme qualities of heart, head and soul. Vyāsa is the unique figure in the whole history of the Sanskrit e. No author has ever excelled him in the authorship of and varied a literature. Nothing that is essential and or the human society has escaped his versatile genius. much to Maharṣi Vyāsa for what is best and richest dian religion and culture. We can never be able to e this debt of the sage; still we can sing the glory of the very words of his great works, Mahābhārata and the

Here we have begun with the Mahābhārata for which that 'धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ । यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेह कचित् ॥' In fact, the Mahābhārata does not appear to ork of the human brain, and so its author Vyāsa has been as an Avatāra of Nārāyaṇa, for who else can be the this great work 'कृष्णद्वैपायनं व्यासं विद्धि नारायणं विभुम् । को वीकाक्षान्महाभारतकृद् भवेत् ॥ What greater glorification can of Vyāsa than the fact that he composed the Mahābhārata ained and illustrated in it all the topics of the Vedas for of the man-kind :—

स्तुत्यं तस्यास्ति किं चान्यत् सर्वलोकहितैषिणः ।
वेदा व्यस्ताः कृतं तेन महाभारतमद्भुतम् ॥
सर्वे तरन्तु दुर्गाणि सर्वो भद्राणि पश्यतु ।
इत्युक्त्वा सर्ववेदार्थान् (र्थाः?) भारते तेन दर्शिताः ॥

this instalment of the *Vyāsa-Mahimā* the ślokas and the glorifying Maharṣi Vyāsa have been compiled from

the critical text, critical footnotes, and the appendix of the Mahābhārata, Cr. Edn., Poona, Ādi-Parvan, Adh. 1. The ślokas whose numbers are marked with a star are those not adopted in the critical text, but given in the critical footnotes, where these śloka numbers are given in the beginning of these ślokas. Although many of the ślokas given here have already been printed in the 'Purāṇa'-Bulletin, yet they are again included here, as all these ślokas are contained in the first Adh. of the Ādi-Parvan which we have drawn upon in this instalment.

In ślokas 3* and 7* the genealogy of Vyāsa has been mentioned, which is as follows :—

Vyāsa is descended from the Pitāmaha or Brahmā from whom he is the sixth in generation (पितामहाद्यं प्रवदन्ति षष्ठं). Thus :—

पितामह (ब्रह्मा or स्वयंभू)
|
स्वायंभुव मनु
|
वसिष्ठ (One of the ten Prajāpatis produced by S. Manu; *cf.* Manu Smṛti 1.34-35)
|
शक्ति
|
पराशर
|
व्यास

(It may also be possible here that the Vasiṣṭha produced by Svāyambhuva Manu might have been a different person from the Vasiṣṭha who was the great grand father (प्रपितामह) of our Vyāsa; and the two Vasiṣṭhas might have been confused as one and the same person later on. The fact that Vasiṣṭha was produced from S. Manu is not mentioned here. But the Manu Smṛti, I suppose, supplies this lacuna).

His physical appearance has been described in the śloka—'मेघश्यामः···'—(13*). He is dark like a cloud, with a tied tawny *jaṭā* or braided hair, and with a tall body. He holds a staff in his hand and wears the hide of a black antelope. He has been conceived here as an avatāra of Viṣṇu. Not only this, he has

been even made the embodiment of the three Deities—Brahmā, Hari, and Śambhu.—(8*). He, the son of Satyavatī, after a continuous life of *tapas* and *brahmacarya*, arranged the Vedas and then composed this holy Itihāsa (Mahābhārata).—(52). He after purifying his body by means of austerity and observation of other religious rules sat on a Kuśa-seat in a cave in the holy Himālaya, and by means of *yoga* or meditation realised the real essence of the *dharma* in his own inner self and then composed this Itihāsa (Bhārata).—(22*). He produced in the wife of Vicitravīrya three sons of Kuru-family, like the three fires, and when they grew old and passed away, this great sage composed the Mahābhārata in the oral form, out of the compassion for the world.—(53, 54, 56, 65*). From the ocean of the Vedas he produced the moon in the form of the Mahābhārata for the welfare of the world.—(Appendix 1.3).

The following epithets have been used here for Maharṣi Vyāsa :

अक्षय्यविभूतियुक्त (having imperishable glory or superhuman power), वेदनिधि (the treasure or repository of the Vedas), ब्रह्मनिधि (= वेदनिधि), कविमुख्य (the foremost of poets), सर्वलोकपूजित (worshipped and honoured by all the worlds), महात्मा (the great and noble soul), अमिततेजाः (of immeasurable or unlimited splendour), धर्मात्मा (the soul or embodiment of *dharma* or piety), शान्तात्मा (of peaceful and calm mind), विद्वान् (the learned) संशितव्रत (of rigid vows); वीर्यवान् (of manly vigour), महान् ऋषि (the great sage), मुनिसत्तम (the best of the Munis) and सर्वलोकहितैषी (the well-wisher of the whole world).

N.B.—The future instalments of *Vyāsa-Mahimā*, will also be from the Mahābhārata, after which the Purāṇas will be taken up.

—A. S. GUPTA

A NOTE ON INDRA IN PURĀṆIC LITERATURE

By

J. GONDA

[विद्वाँल्लेखकोऽस्मिन्निबन्धे ऐतिहासिकपद्धत्या समुचितवैज्ञानिकपद्धत्या च इन्द्रसम्बन्धिनः स्वविचारान् प्रस्तौति । वेदेतिहासपुराणेषु वर्णितानामिन्द्रदेवता-सम्बन्धितत्त्वानां शक्रस्य स्वरूप-अधिकार-कर्तव्य-महत्त्वादीनां च परम्परागत-विकासस्ह्रासादिप्रदर्शनपुरःसरं समीक्षात्मकं तुलनात्मकं च विवेचनमत्र वर्तते । अस्मिन्प्रसङ्गे लेखकमहोदयेन वैदिकधर्म-परवर्तिहिन्दुधर्मप्रकारयोस्तथाकथित-मौलिकी भेदकल्पना सर्वथा खलु निराधाराऽप्रामाणिकी चेत्यपि युक्तिपूर्वकं प्रतिष्ठापितम् । वैदिकतत्त्वेभ्यः पुराणेषु यद् भेदपरिवर्तनादिकं परिलक्ष्यते, नूतनश्च कश्चित्सन्निवेशस्तत्र दृश्यते, तत्तु सर्वं सदातनविकासक्रममनुरुध्यैवेति लेखक-महोदयस्य मतम् । वस्तुतस्तु हिन्दुताया अर्वाक्कालिक्याः पूर्ववैदिकसिद्धान्ताद् आत्यन्तिको भेदः कदापि न जातः, न चासीत् सहसा संक्रमणकालो नाम कश्चिदिति निबन्धकृदभिमतम् ।

प्रसिद्धतरं सिद्धान्तं स्वमतानुसारेणाभिव्यञ्जयन् लेखकमहोदयो मन्यते यत् सर्वसमर्थभूतात् देवानामुत्कृष्टतमाद् वैदिक-इन्द्राद् पर्जन्यदेव-सुरेश-स्वर्गाधिपेत्यादि-रूपेणावशिष्टः पौराणिक इन्द्रः सर्वथा न भिन्नः, अपि तु वैदिकस्येन्द्रस्य काल-क्रमेण परिवर्तितरूप एव पौराणिक इन्द्र इति । इन्द्रवरुणादयो देवताः एकस्यैव परब्रह्मणोऽभिव्यक्तय इति मतमपि नासमीचीनम् । विद्वान् लेखकमहोदयः पुराणेषूपवर्णितानि विविधाख्यानानि समालोच्य कानिचिदाधारभूततत्त्वान्याश्रित्य च कथं वैदिक इन्द्र एव विकासक्रमेण पौराणिक इन्द्रः संजात इति युक्तिपुरः सरं प्रतिपादयति ; तथा इन्द्रस्य प्रकृष्टत्वख्यापकानि हीनत्वसूचकानि च विवि-धाख्यानानि निर्दिश्य तेषां साहाय्येन स्वमतं पुष्णाति ।]

The principal points of difference between Vedism and Hinduism are too well known to be repeated even by way of an introductory phrase in an article intended to draw attention to some particulars concerning one of these differences. This is however not to say that most books on the history of Indian religion or on Hinduism give an adequate idea of the processes which have caused and determined this important change in the history of

Indian culture.[1] Generally speaking the authors of these books are not to blame for this shortcoming, because these processes are utterly complicated and the sources from which the relevant data must be unearthed are far from being sufficiently investigated into; besides, many valuable facts on which to found our conclusions have not been recorded or have fallen into oblivion together with the documents in which they were recorded. However, though making all allowance possible for this state of affairs, cases are not rare in which an author has too onesidedly emphasized the many and important points of difference, admitting even the existence of interruptions in the traditions of various traits of culture or expressing his inability to establish, in various respects, the relations between Hinduism and Vedism.[2] Other scholars are liable to simplification and unwarranted generalization, and in so doing create serious misunderstanding on the part of their readers. There may, for instance, for didactical purposes something be said for short formulations of the type: "Vedic religion has no temples, Hinduism has", or "in the Veda the gods did not ride animals but had only aerial cars at their disposal, but in Hinduism they had animals which served them as mounts and companions", but on closer inspection these simple statements conceal very complicated and prolonged processes. From where did the temples and vāhanas come?; why were they no element of 'Vedic' religion?; why and when, and in which milieus were they introduced?; why was the older cultural element abolished?; was it really abolished?; were there transitional stages?; etc. etc.[3]; these and similar questions should puzzle any serious investigator.

A case in point is also the position of the ancient gods who were so prominent in the Veda, but—as the authors of handbooks have it—enjoyed much less esteem on the part of worshippers in

1. For particulars see my book Change and continuity in Indian religion, The Hague 1965.
2. See e. g, E. W. Hopkins, The religions of India, Boston 1895, p. 24. 348.
3. As far as the vāhanas are concerned these questions are discussed in Change and continuity, chapter III.

Hinduism. The sphere of influence of the great god Varuṇa, von Glasenapp[1] writes, has in Hinduism been greatly reduced : he is no more than a god of water, and Indra is no longer the greatest of the gods, but only a king of the minor deities and the ruler of a paradise. Nobody will of course assume that it has been the author's intention to say that at a given date, e. g. 200 B. C. or 200 A. D., this change in Indra's position took place all of a sudden, or that Varuṇa, Indra and the other gods underwent these alterations at exactly the same moment. On the contrary, we will readily suppose him to mean that, if one compares the Indra of say, the Ṛgveda, with the Indra of say, one of the purāṇas, one may notice a difference which for the sake of brevity and convenience may be formulated in the above way. Notwithstanding all that, these formulations are not altogether harmless. What we should like to know as exactly and as thoroughly as possible is, among other things, what happened—and when and where, and as a result of what causes the relevant processes took place—before "the chief god by whose vehemence heaven and earth trembled, who made firm the quaking earth and set at rest the agitated mountains" (ṚV. 2, 12, 1 and 2) could come to be, in the view of Tulsī Dās, a "crafty crow" and a "shameless dog" ; and what significance should for instance be ascribed to stories such as that (Brahma V P. Kr. 47, 50 ff.) of how the king of gods was humiliated in his boundless pride so as to need re-education[2] ; and, if it is true—but such unqualified statements are far from satisfactory—that already in the great epics the gods other than Viṣṇu and Śiva had sunk pretty low,[3] where we are in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa : what exactly is left of the great god of Vedic poetry and which attributes, deeds and qualities

1. H. von Glasenapp, Die Religionen Indiens, Stuttgart 1955, p. 147. Cf. e. g. also Bh. S. Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa, Allahabad 1947, p. 299.
2. See also H. Zimmer, Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization, New York 1947, p. 3 ff.
3. R. C. Zachner, Hinduism, London 1962, p. 187.
4. Some particulars are briefly touched upon in L. Renou's account of the role played by this god in the epic period (L. Renou and J. Filliozat, L'Inde classique, I, Paris 1947, p. 492 f.).

ascribed to him may be qualified as 'Hinduist' because they are common to a considerable number of sources of say, the period after the 6th century A.D. ? And are the two great epics in this respect to be considered a unity ?[1] And is the Indra of a pronouncedly 'sectarian' text identical with the Indra of a more or less neutral document of Hinduism ?

These problems are not solved by onesidedly stressing one Vedic aspect of an ancient god and comparing it with one of his functions in later times. In writing : "In a celebrated dialogue (ChU. 8, 11) between Prajāpati (now no more than a heavenly guru) and Indra (the ancient war-god who now appears in the incongruous role of a seeker after Brahman) Prajāpati says ... " Zaehner[2] forgot that the Vedic Indra was much more than a war-god, or rather that this was only one of the sides, and in all probability not even the central part, of his nature.[3] Nor are we much benefitted by Basham's[4] remark that Indra, the Vedic war-god, lost much of his prestige but gained new attributes (his mount Airāvata, his guardianship of the eastern quarter of the universe). Again, was there a relation between Indra's being a war-god and becoming a mounted guardian of the East, and if so, how did the transformation come about ?, and if not, why was he in later times no longer a war-god and how did he assume the other attributes and functions ? Nor would I be inclined to subscribe to the theory implied in J. J. Meyer's discussion of the Indra festival[5] according to which a prehistoric spring or midsummer celebration in honour of a god of fertility and vegetation (Indra) intended to secure regeneration of the year was in Vedic religion modified into a royal rite in propitiation of the

1. That they are not was already clear to E. W. Hopkins, Epic mythology, Strassburg 1915, esp. p. 122 ff.
2. Zaehner, o. c., p. 98.
3. For discussion see my book Die Religionen Indiens, I, Leipzig 1960, p. 49 ff. ; 53 ff.
4. A. L. Basham, The wonder that was India, London 1956, p. 313.
5. J. J. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation, Zürich—Leipzig 1937, III, p. 1 ff.

war god (Indra), to become, finally, village fête in honour of the Hindu rain-god Indra.[1]

What we need to do is, first and foremost, to cease opposing simply Vedism and Hinduism or even Vedism : 'Brahmanism' epic period : purāṇic Hinduism etc. etc. and to accustom ourselves to greater precision and to discriminating, not only between the stages of Vedism, but also between many different phases and aspects of Hinduism, indicating—at least in publications of greater compass, when considerations of space do not compel us to inexact brevity—more clearly and accurately which period or milieu, which aspects of the god etc. we are speaking of. That the above considerations are not in all respects forcing an open door may perhaps appear from a glance at a comparatively recent, very useful and meritorious work compiled by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar[2], which the author, for want of time, could not, regrettably enough, extend so as to become a complete index of all the Mahāpurāṇas. The five purāṇas—in alphabetical order Bhāgavata, Brahmāṇḍa, Matsya, Vāyu, Viṣṇu—from which the material for this book has been collected are—in my opinion incorrectly—considered to constitute a unity. The sources from which the quotations are taken are often, but not consistently, quoted in alphabetical order. If we only consider the purpose pursued by the author—the compilation of an index of proper nouns for the use of researchers, this structure of the longer articles is no great disadvantage, but the procedure may, if applied to the complete purāṇic literature, exert an undesirable suggestive force because it creates the impression that chronologically and from the point of view of provenance all passages quoted are on an equal footing with one another and may be adduced in substantiation of assertions with regard to one homogeneous purāṇic stage of Indian culture.

The author has moreover, while assigning dates to the five purāṇas excerpted in his Index which will not readily be accepted

1. I refer to my paper The Indra festival according to the Atharvavedins which is to appear elsewhere.
2. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, The Purāṇa Index, 3 volumes, University of Madras, 1951.

by all his colleagues[1], failed to take full account of the 'text-historical' method of purāṇic research inaugurated by W. Kirfel[2] and successfully applied by other scholars among whom is P. Hacker.[3] It is however no longer an appropriate method, to discuss myths, legends, figures etc. dealt with in several purāṇic texts without taking the presumably historical order of the relevant passages into account. It will of course not always be possible to form an exact idea about this historical order; especially those portions of this huge mass of literature which are rather isolated or do not occur in more than one text are often hard to determine chronologically, but anyway, reasonable considerations of chronology should not be brushed aside. We should distinguish between the presumable date of the compilation of the complete books which lie before us and the date of their component parts which may each of them have a provenance and history of their own and which may go back to an older text or to older texts which have been abridged, extended, refashioned, rewritten. The history and interrelations of these component parts should as far as possible be traced[4], but when this has been done the question must be put as to which were the various factors that may have determined the history of these texts and that have caused their transformations.

In this paper—which may in a way be considered to

1. It is much to be regretted that the meritorious author has not consulted some publications of other scholars touching upon the dates of these texts. He does not hesitate (p. XXIX) to regard for instance the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as a work of the IIIrd cent. A. D., but most authors are on good grounds convinced of a later origin (about the Xth cent.); see e. g. M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur, I, Leipzig 1907, p. 465; Renou-Filliozat, o. c., p. 418 (rejecting B. N. K. Sarma's thesis: Vth cent. A. D.); E. C. Dimock, The place of the Hidden Moon, Erotic mysticism in the Vaiṣṇava-Sahajiyā cult of Bengal, Chicago 1966, p. 11: "written in the IXth or Xth century".
2. See especially W. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, Bonn 1927.
3. P. Hacker, Prahlāda. Werden und Wandlungen einer Idealgestalt Mainz Acad. 1959, n°9 and 13.
4. The history of the geographical texts describing Bhāratavarṣa has for instance been cleared up by Kirfel in his book Bhāratavarṣa, Stuttgart 1931.

contain some preliminary remarks to a publication of greater compass—I would like to demonstrate, first the simplification implied in undifferentiated assertions regarding a clear-cut opposition between a mighty Vedic Indra and an insignificant Indra of purāṇic Hinduism, in the second place the untenability of the opinion that in these matters the purāṇas can be regarded as a unity, or that there is one single purāṇic Indra, and lastly to give an idea of the 'structure' of some purāṇic representations of that deity, that is to say of the elements which have entered into the composition of the mythical tales and legends in which this god plays a part. It will be seen that here also there is no abrupt transition between Vedism and purāṇic Hinduism; there is a change, but also continuity.

This is not all. In studying the part played by an ancient god—to limit ourselves to this point—in purāṇic Hinduism a collection and enumeration of all relevant data—even if these should be arranged in a strictly chronological order—will not suffice. Text places and references must not only be quoted and arranged, they must also be weighed and considered critically. Does the name of a divine figure in a definite work occur mainly in similes and other passages of secondary importance ?; does it only occur in myths which are already found in pre-epic or epic times, and if so, is its bearer a central or only a subordinate figure ?; has he given rise to new myths or legends or does he at least enter into the composition of narratives which cannot be traced back to pre-purāṇic or pre-epic literature ?; has he been integrated in doctrines of theological or philosophical interest ? If such a divine person is worshipped, by whom and in which circles is he worshipped, and for what reasons and on which occasions do people resort to him ? Are there other documents (texts, inscriptions etc. etc.) corroborating a conclusion drawn from purāṇic passages with regard to a special form of worship ? What does it mean, when acts of heroism in earlier works ascribed to a god, e. g. to Indra, are in a purāṇic text attributed to another figure—for instance, when Buddha, Purūravas' father is credited with the annihilation of the dasyus (VāP. 89, 37 ff.)—or when emblems or

es which are characteristic of an ancient god are transferred
figures, for instance when Śiva is (VāP. 54, 66) described
hasta—?

hat is not to say that we may generalize the facts deter-
this way, for generally speaking our sources do not give
lete idea of all the relevant religious phenomena of the
eriod and milieu in which they originated. They may be
c or purely mythological, they describe an ideal state of
r reflect the beliefs and practices of definite groups, they
identally throw light on what is, or was, going on in other
-they do never exempt us from the necessity to consider
y what it may mean if the facts which they supply have
led bearing on a special facet of a divine personality, or
means if they are silent on particular points. We must
ır guard against the risks of relying upon, for instance, the
ıtum e silentio. "It would appear", Bh. S. Upadhyaya[1],
'that during his (i. e. Kālidāsa's) time this god (i. e. Indra)
sed to be worshipped except on the occasion of the first
nce of the rainbow and on that of a sacrifice". In subs-
on of this opinion he quotes Kāl. Ragh. 4, 3; 3, 38; 44;
Leaving the correctness of the identification of the Indra-
and the rainbow[2] (see Ragh. 4. 3) undiscussed and taking
ted—but are we really sure ?—that Kālidāsa had persona-
ıessed the ceremonies which he is incidentally referring to,
: we to know that in the poet's time people did not worship
n other occasions, or were not otherwise interested in this
Should a poet, even a learned Indian poet, be expected to
in his works all he knows of everything, even of every
al in his country or of every belief familiar to people
in his own times or even in his own milieu ? As to the
:xt places mentioned above, Ragh. 3, 38, is a simile: "lik

Upadhyaya, o. c., p. 300.

See also e. g. M. R. Kale, The Raghuvaṃśa of Kalidāsa, I, Bombay 1925, comm. p. 90; for Indra's tree and banner see also my paper The Indra festival accordieg to the Atharvavedins (see above).

(Indra) Śatakratu[1] the king performed a hundred sacrifices" and as such a short reference to an ancient aspect of the god; the passage 3, 39ff. is a product of the poet's imagination utilizing the wellknown motif of Indra's jealousy: the god is said to have, in an invisible form, taken off the sacrificial horse, because, he says, its royal owner intends to eclipse his (i. e. Indra's) own fame as Śatakratu. It is not, in my opinion, a reasonable conclusion that Indra was during Kālidāsa's life-time generally worshipped in connection with sacrifices[2]. Nor has Ragh 6, 23 demonstrative force: if an ancient king mentioned by the poet invited Indra, on account of his many sacrifices, to the earth, we may safely and not to our astonishment—conclude that Kālidāsa and his milieu and audience were well acquainted with Indra's traditional functions in the ancient sacrifices, not that people in general worshipped the god in connection with sacrificial rites. Similar objections may be made to the onesided view that "in the times of classical Sanskrit" Indra merely was the god of rain and thunder-storm who, it is true, was, like his Roman colleague Jupiter, in possession of a celestial residence[3]. The frequent references to Indra's more or less important functions in ancient

1. As to the epithet *śatakratu*–which has given rise to the supposition that "the prosaic minds of the post-Vedic ages" had misunderstood its true meaning ("the god of a hundred wisdoms or powers")—see e. g. S. P. Pandit, quoted by Kale, o. c., p. 79–I may refer to my books Epithets in the Ṛgveda, The Hague 1959, p. 36 ff., and The vision of the Vedic poets, The Hague 1963, p. 46; 111; 183 f.; 261 f.; 276, where I attempted to show that *kratu*–in the Veda means "effective mental power, inventiveness, resourcefulness enabling a man to proceed to successful (creative) action". The meaning "rite, sacrificial ceremony"—which is not foreign to the brāhmaṇas etc. (see e. g. AiB. 2, 18, 11)—can be explained as "device (result of inventiveness); way (thought out by practical wisdom) and means of (entering into contact with the divine power, exerting influence)". *kratu*–being needed to bring not only a "poetical production" (Vision, p. 111), but also a ritual undertaking to a successful conclusion.

2. Upadhyaya is (o. c., p. 300) quite right in intimating that the repeated use of the epithet Śatakratu (cf. 38; 49) in this passage is not fortuitous.

3. Meyer, Trilogie altindischer Mächte and Feste der Vegetation, III, p. 1 ff.

narratives show that at least among men of letters and in cultured circles other sides of the god's personality had not fallen into oblivion.

Moreover, how, if Upadhyaya is right, are we to reconcile his conclusion with other statements—which as in the case of e.g. Mārk P. 2, 65 are likely to be also traditional and not usable as evidence for contemporaneous facts—with regard to religious ceremonies in honour of Indra as well as other gods found in texts which may be considered to have been composed at about the same time as Kālidāsa's works? In this connection it is interesting to quote an observation made by Guruge[1]: "...the Rāmāyaṇa shows no predilection for any particular god; ...many of the Vedic gods occur in similes; although the general impression is that the Rāmāyaṇa extols Viṣṇu, the number of similes in which Viṣṇu is upheld as a standard of comparison is about one fourth of the similes glorifyng Indra, while Brahmā and Rudra together have less allusions to them than Viṣṇu"[2]. It is quite intelligible that in the epic sphere a prominent place has been given to Indra, the more so as the original Rāmāyaṇa dates back to a period in which Viṣṇu was, in all probability, not so important a figure as, say, in the IInd century A. D., but it does not follow that in the IInd century A. D. Indra's worshippers were four times as numerous as those who adored Viṣṇu[3].

More or less conventional references, for instance in a simile, to Indra's power and prowess may not, in my opinion, weigh heavily when it comes to considering the question as to how far the god was really, in these aspects, an object of the worship of the masses. Standard similes such as "Karandhama's son ... whose courage is like Indra's" (MārkP. 123, 7 or 126, 7) are a literary device expressing an indisputably high degree of a quality. Many allusions to the ancient gods are in later times merely

1. A. Guruge, The society of the Rāmāyaṇa, Maharagama (Ceylon) 1960, p. 222.
2. "The number of similes occurring in the three recensions (counting the common ones once) can be divided as follows: Indra 214; Viṣṇu 56; Brahmā 28; Rudra 19".
3. Cf. also Guruge, o. c., p. 257.

conventional. More significant on the other hand, in a work which contains many references to Viṣṇu's superiority, is a passing reference to Indra's former might and glory, now eclipsed by Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu: ViP. 5, 14, 13. "Seeing him (the demon Ariṣṭa) slain, the herdsmen glorified Kṛṣṇa, as the companies of the celestials in olden times (*purā*) praised Sahasrākṣa, when he triumphed over Jambha".[1]

It has often—and rightly—been said that Indra was in the post-Vedic period superseded by other gods of the purāṇic pantheon among whom Viṣṇu and Śiva rose to positions of special eminence. Here we are confronted with the intricate problem of the relations between Indra and the other ancient Vedic gods on the one hand and the great figures and subordinate deities of Hinduism on the other. What does it mean exactly and in every particular case that Indra has been superseded? And again, how can we conceive what this supersession meant to the believing, the cultured, the masses in earlier and later times? This process is not rarely reflected by tales about Viṣṇu or Śiva assuming functions hitherto ascribed to Indra or even this god's outward appearance, but it is also apparent from explicit identifications in doctrinal or philosophical passages. It seems advisable to distinguish between the different types of impersonation and identification and also between the contexts in which these occur. For instance when Śiva being praised is explicitly described as appearing in the forms of Indra and Varuṇa (Saura P. 29, 34[2]) this means, philosophically and theologically, that Śiva, the sole God, the All, may appear also as Indra or Varuṇa, or that in reality the divine person known as Indra is, like all other things, Śiva, or that Indra can be worshipped only as an aspect of Śiva.[3] In a similar way Viṣṇu is, in a hymn of praise, said to be Indra, the Sun, Rudra,

1. For this demon see further on.
2. This text is rather late, but seems to have been compiled before 1200 A. D.; see W. Jahn, Das Saurapurāṇam, Strassburg 1908, p. XIII ff.
3. A point of view taken also by other religions; see e. g. the recent book by Dimock, The place of the Hidden Moon, p. 116. Thus Śiva is according to the ideas ventilated SauraP. 38, 70 to be represented as Viṣṇu's servant.

etc. (ViP. 3, 17, 17), and the Sun, Brahmā, Hari, Indra and so on (MārkP. 101, 37 or 104, 37). When however in the tale of Upamanyu who attempts through asceticism to gain the ocean of milk Śiva assumes, to try Upamanyu's faith, the bodily appearance of Indra, mounted on Airāvata (SauraP. 36, 19 ff.), we have to do with a well-known mythological and literary motif, viz. the ability ascribed to divine beings to metamorphose themselves. This motif can, of course, be founded on the above philosophical doctrine : if Indra really is Śiva it is small wonder that the latter appears, in popular belief, in the bodily shape of the former.

We may in this connection recall also that Viṣṇu, God, assumes the person of Brahmā to create the world, but impersonated as (*-rūpaḥ*) Śakra and the other (gods) is the guardian of mankind (ViP. 4, 1, 30) : the usual view of the monotheistic religions considering the traditional gods to be functions of their only God.

In substantiation of the doctrine of the unique God who is the basis of the universe which he has emanated and which he pervades and who in this text is Śiva (Saura P. 2, 7[1]) refers to the well-known Vedic passages such as ṚV. 6, 47, 18 *rūpāṃ-rūpam prātirūpo babhūva tād asya rūpām praticākṣaṇāya Indro māyāḥ bhiḥ pururūpa īyate yuktā hy asya harayaḥ śatā daśa* which are in the Upaniṣads (cf. BĀU. 2, 5, 19 ; KU. 2, 2, 9 f.) quoted in corroboration of the doctrine of the apparent plurality of the immanent and at the same time transcendent Highest Principle : "this One (i. e. Śiva)", the text says, "was called Indra by those who knew the manifold". This traditional reference to an ancient authority, which does not reveal the compiler's knowledge of the Veda or Indra worship obtaining in his milieu, shows that to the author in conformity with other authors the Vedic Indra was a manifestation of the Highest Principle, now preferably known and honoured as Śiva.

Those cases in which Indra and another god are specially mentioned in association are likewise worth noticing. Praising

1. like other works, e. g. Rāmānuja, VS. 16 (§ 39).

Śivā, i. e. Umā, Śiva's spouse, the compiler of SauraP. 8.15 ff. calls her not only the mother of all denizens, of heaven, but also in particular the mother of Indra and Upendra (Viṣṇu). Here the traditional first among his peers and the great competitor of the author's god, Śiva, are not without reason mentioned conjointly : Śiva's spouse is the mother of the mightiest god known to the ancient tradition as well as of the mighty Viṣṇu worshipped in the author's times by large parts of the population. A similar conclusion may be drawn from a passage such as SauraP. 45, 20 where the gods and munis are said to meditate upon Śiva, the Paramātman, Rudra, Śaṅkara and among these gods Nārāyaṇa and Indra (representing Vedic religion) are mentioned by name[1]. .....An interesting formulation of the relative excellence of some main cults and religions occurs SauraP. 40, 5 ff. in the form of an arrangement of the names of some gods. Those who knowingly revere gods become gods themselves; he who knows Śiva becomes Viṣṇu, he who knows Viṣṇu and worships him as the Lord, Indra ; he who worships Indra as the lord of the universe is regarded as a ṛṣi. These places are in agreement with the formulation put into the mouth of Indra himself : ibidem 38, 51 : "we (Vedic) gods have no longer the distinction (of really higher beings), but are traditionally regarded (as gods) upon the authority of the Veda" (*asmākaṃ hīnajīvānāṃ ko viśeṣo yadā śrutiḥ / pramāṇayati tattvena vayaṃ devā yadājñayā*).

That in the typically Indian way the belief in Indra was not completely rejected or combated as being worthless, but that it also in these works was incorporated into a form of worship which was considered preferable, higher, more efficacious may appear also from the variations on the theme so well known to the ancient Buddhist authors : just as in their eyes Sakka (Indra) was a devout worshipper of Buddha and the most zealous of the devas in the discharge of his (Buddhist) duties, so Indra is represented as praising, in a long eulogy, Pārvatī. When, accompanied by Bṛhaspati and many other gods he had praised,

[1] also phrases such as SauraP. 49, 8 *surān sarvān viṣṇvindrāgni-*

adored and propitiated the Highest Goddess and mightiest Śakti and had obtained various boons from her, he could make his kingdom free from troubles and difficulties (Saura P. 50, 1 ff). This narrative suggests that the representative of the world of the gods, i.e. of those personal powers which were in olden times regarded as controlling those processes which take place in the various provinces of the universe, accompanied by their priest, the "Lord of Brahman"—who in 32, 10 ff. proclaims the identity of Śiva and the Brahman of the Veda—is inferior to Śiva's Creative Power. After hearing Indra's eulogy numerous munis join in the Goddess' praise and recommend her worship.

We should also be on our guard against the inconsiderate supposition that Indra's significance has declined gradually, that the later a source, the lesser the god's importance, that for instance purāṇas are not likely to contain references to Indra's activities on which the Mahābhārata is silent[1]. The fact that Mbh. 3, 13, 18 describes Kṛṣṇa as bestowing the sovereignty of the universe on Indra (Śacīpati), whereas in ViP. 5, 12 it is the lattter who installs the former as Upendra, making him prince over the cattle may by itself not induce us to consider that epic passage younger than the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.

An interesting case in point is the defeat of the demon Tāraka. His name does not appear in the old genealogical lists, but in what may be called "the middle period of the epic"[2] he figures as claiming a boon (Mbh. 13, 85, 1 vulg) from Brahmā, in consequence of which he could not be killed by gods (ibid. 5. Accounts however differ. Some passing references in similes attribute this heroic deed to Indra ("ward off this enemy like Indra Tāraka in the days of yore"): 6, 91, 17; 8, 37, 23 ("as in the Tāraka-slaughter Indra killed the daityas") or to Varuṇa and Mitra (7, 130, 30). Once, Mbh. 7, 148, 56 however it reads: "as

1. It would be interesting to possess a survey of the uses made of the epithets of the god in purāṇic as compared with earlier literature. The epithet *kuliśapāṇi*—for instance does not, as far as I know, occur in the Veda and the Mahābhārata. Cf. also *śatad[illegible]*—in Vin. 5, 1. 79.
2. Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 50.

Indra together with Skanda formerly killed Tāraka", and in 9, 45, 64 Skanda is his conqueror. This feat is related at greater length in 13, 84, 79 ff. vulg. and into this account is woven the tale of the lost Fire-god. When the gods, oppressed by the asura (cf. 13, 84, 79), resorted to Brahmā, this deity told them that Agni would beget a child for the destruction of Tāraka. But Agni was absent and could only be found after several attempts to discover his hiding-place. Finally he was found and agreed to cast Rudra's semen (which had fallen into him) into the Ganges. This goddess, being unable to bear the seed, cast it off resplendent like gold on the breast of Meru. Thus gold as well as a divine child, Skanda, Guha or Kārttikeya, came into existence. As is well known this god succeeded in killing the demon. In this epic tale, which gave the poet abundant scope for inserting the story of the hidden Agni, explaining the origin of gold etc., Indra plays only a very subordinate part: in 13, 85, 163 the gods with Indra make him their general; in 86, 16 he is among the gods who came to see young Skanda; in 86, 25 he gave him lions etc. as a present and 86, 30 Skanda restored the sovereignty of the gods to Indra. In Kālidāsa's famous treatment of the same theme his role is not the same: when the gods in deep distress learn that even Brahmā can afford no aid, because he had accorded the demon his protection, and that only Śiva can help if he will beget a son with Umā, it is Indra who—obviously as the traditional king of the gods—seeks the aid of Kāma to win Śiva's heart for Umā (Kāl. Kum. 2, 63 f.; 3, 1 ff.; cf. also 2, 29). Still more prominent is Indra's mediation in the account given in the SauraP. a. 53. Under Indra's leadership the gods resort to Brahmā reminding him of Viṣṇu's long and futile attempts to defeat the demon. Brahmā advises them to invoke Śiva for protection (this purāṇa is śivaite). Then Indra pondering on the question as to how Śiva would beget a child remembers Kāma's invincibility, and this god at once knows what Indra is thinking of and asks the king of the gods if perhaps somebody by fervent asceticism aspired to his high position, or if some women would not comply with his wishes. Thereupon Indra calls upon him to go to Śiva etc.

However, not all purāṇic references to Indra are equally important. Thus when, in the story of Saṃjñā and Chāyā, Viśvakarman placed the Sun on his wheel "to restrain his form" and "pare down his tejas", Indra was according to MārkP. 103, 50 or 106, 50 among the gods and celestial beings who praised the Sun: "Be victorious etc.". This story is not known to the Mahābhārata, which mentions Saṃjñā, Vivasvat's wife only 13, 150, 18 vulg., but compare Hariv. 1, 9, 21 ff.; ViP. 3, 2 does not mention Indra.

In the following pages I shall institute a brief comparative inquiry into the role of Indra in two important purāṇas, both of which dating from an early period, but geographically and doctrinally of different origin and milieu, viz. the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa which was compiled in the West of India and the oldest parts of which may, without being onesidedly Viṣṇuite or Śivaite, have been composed in, or even before, the IIIrd century A. D. and the Viṣṇuite Viṣṇu Purāṇa which may have been written in Gayā between the IIIrd and Vth centuries A. D. From this brief investigation it will I hope be clear that the role and the importance of the god in both purāṇas is not the same and that the points of difference are, generally speaking, not only very illustrative of the contexts in which they occur but may also be to a considerable extent explained from the different character of the works and the different aims of the authors and compilers. It will moreover be worth while to study the composition of the relevant myths and narratives somewhat more closely and to make some remarks on their themes and on the motifs which ha' entered into their composition. It will appear that many Ved. features have been preserved or transformed, combining with other elements.

Whereas in the older Veda Indra is the favourite god of the inspired poets and their noble patrons and the dominant deity of the middle region, the champion of the cosmic order and the habitability of the world—he so to say inaugurates 'the era of the cosmos'—, the representative of the dynamic aspects of

kingship[1] and as a "king" or "ruler of the world" the peer among his equals,[2] later texts like to describe him as a representative or leader of the gods addressing or applying to the Highest Being (ChāndU. 8. 7, 2 ff.) he for instance approaches Prajāpati for instruction in the knowledge of the ātman; Mbh. 1, 58, 51 headed by Indra, the gods prevail upon Nārāyaṇa to become incarnate; according to the Buddhist Sakkapañha Sutta, DN. 21; II, 263-289 Sakka visiting the Buddha asked him a series of questions[3], as the chief of the devas (early Buddhist texts, epics), viewing him it is true as a helper and intercessor and as the ruler of, or central figure in, a "world" (*loka*),[4] but not as perfect and really divine.[5] It may however also be emphasized that purāṇic authors were very well aware of the most important element in the process of 're-valuation' of the ancient 'provincial' or 'parochial' gods. As soon as the belief in an Īśvara, a Lord, and the doctrine of periodic existence of the world and all its inhabitants spread to all strata of society, the position and estimation of Indra and his colleagues must of necessity undergo radical modifications. Already in the Mahābhārata allusions are found to Indra's subordinate position, for instance when, in a simile, it reads: Viṣṇu confers the sovereignty of the three worlds upon Śacīpati (9, 32, 23). According to the figurative description of the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, K. Kh. 47, 50 ff. Indra, after slaying the snake and setting the waters free had his residence rebuilt (notice the idea of periodicity) by Viśvakarman; as his demands became ever more exacting the divine craftsman turned to the demiurgic creator Brahmā-himself but an agent of Viṣṇu—for help with the result that Viṣṇu, in the guise of a boy informed Indra of the

1. I refer to my book Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 54.
2. See the Ṛgvedic places enumerated in K. F. Geldner—J. Nobel, Der Rig-Veda uebersetzt, IV, Cambridge Mass. 1957, p. 77.
3. The reverse situation presents itself e. g. VāP. 56, 94 ff.: munis question Indra regarding the propriety of killing animals at sacrifices.
4. See my publication Loka, world and heaven in the Veda, Amsterdam Academy 1965.
5. For a brief characterization of the Hindu Indra see L. Renou in L. Renou et. J. Filliozat, L'Inde classique, I, Paris 1947, p. 492 f.

serious limitations of his power and duration of life and of his being but one in an endless series of Indras.

Both purāṇas, Mārk. and Vi., join the traditional view of the god's position and function. He is expressly called lord of the gods at MārkP. 79. 1 or 82 (Pargiter), 1 ; 118, 3 or 121 (Pargiter), 3 (*sureśvaraḥ*). The title lord of the gods (*surapatiḥ*) refers to him at 96, 67 or 99, 67 and elsewhere. Śuci shall be the Indra of those gods (who will exist in the Bhautya-manvantara), great in strength and value, endowed with all an Indra's qualities (*sarvair indraguṇair yutaḥ* : 97, 30 or 100,30). In an enumeration of some gods Indra is the first, before the Vasus and Brahmā (21, 42 or 23, 41) ; cf. also 25, 23 or 27, 22[1]. That Indra is the highest god appears from 10, 90 where the incarnate beings are enumerated in ascending order :...śūdras, vaiśyas, noblemen, kings, gods, Indra (*vipradevendratā-*). He is in references to the gods also mentioned separately : 16, 70 *devāḥ sahendreṇa* ; 43, 33 or 46, 33 ; 70, 1 or 73, 1 ; 82. 76 or 85, 73 ; 114, 7 or 117, 7, and, in the Devīmāhātmya, 88, 1 (91, 1), *śakrādayaḥ suragaṇāḥ*. Indra (in the East) and the other lokapālas occur 51, 18 or 54, 18 ; cf. 124, 32 or 137, 32 ; Indra and the other (gods) : 94, 4 or 97, 4 ; 134, 36 (137, 36). Thus it reads also : gods, ṛṣis, Indras, Manus and gods, ṛṣis, Indras and kings (97, 42 f. or 100, 42 f.).—The ViṣṇuP. likewise—though less frequently—considers Indra to be the king of the gods (1, 9, 17 ; 1, 22, 6[2]), and the *trailokyādhipati*—accompanied by the other gods (1, 9, 7 ; cf. 14 ; 16 ; 114). The formulas *indrādyāḥ* (1, 9, 33), *śakrādyāḥ* and *amarādhipa*—(1, 21, 35) show him to be the peer among his equals ; cf. also 4, 6, 10 sakladevasainyasahāyaḥ śakraḥ ; 5, 16, 22 *śakro'pi...devāś ca*. Similarly, e. g. BḍP. 2, 3, 118 ; VāP. 66, 136. Śakra is as the king

1. However, Indra is far from being the first in earlier enumerations e. g. TU. 2, 8 ; AiU. 3, 3 Brahmā, Indra, Prajāpati.
2. His name Vāsava (MārkP. 1, 22, 6), characterizing him as the chief of the Vasus, does not seem to occur separately before BhG. 10, 22 and the Mahābhārata, where it is very frequent, although the identical adjective is found AVPar. 51, 5, 6, and this is used as an epithet to the name Indra AV. 6, 82, 1. It is not infrequent in ViP., sometimes in more or less deprecative passages (e. g. 5, 21, 14 ; 5, 30, 44).

of the gods at the head of those who preside over the respective great periods (*manvantara-*; 3, 1, 4). Needless to say that references to Indra's leadership—like passages such as MārkP. 132, 13 (135, 13) in which an ascetic asserts his superiority to the god—occur also in other purāṇas.

This theme may of course be subjected to variations which in the following case remain without doctrinal consequence. In the third manvantara the illustrious lord of the gods was Indra known as Suśānti (MārkP. 70, 7 ff. or 73, 7 ff.) : "Even to this day men sing a song, embellished (i. e. fortified) with the letters composing his name in order to avert the misfortunes emanating from him : 'Sweetly serene (*suśānti-*) is the lovely ruler of the gods, he bestows sweet serenity'. Being without birth, absolutely pure etc. he was attended by various other gods".—Cf. 67, 3 ; 71, 58 (74, 58). Śikhi Indra became the lord of the gods in the Tāmasa manvantara ; 73, 53 (76, 53) Indra Manojava ; 75, 33 ; 76, 4 ; 91, 7 ; 13, 19 ; 24. This doctrine of the manvantaras (in each of which another being functions as the non-eternal Indra), which is a corollary of the cyclic view of world history obtaining in the purāṇas, is though even out of the epic range, a logical consequence of traditional views of the structure of the divine hierarchy and of Indra's position in the same.[1].

For Indra as the lord of the three worlds (*trailokyam*) reference may be made to MārkP. 85, 21 or 88, 25 *Devīm.*) : cf. Mbh. 5, 10, 6 ; Rām. 6, 114, 18 exhibiting *trilokanātha-* and *trailoka-* as epithets of this god as lord of these worlds. The compound *triloka-* is not Vedic (but see Pāṇ. Vārt. Gp. 5, 1, 124) ; *trailokya-* (see ibidem) occurs Manu 11' 236 ; Mbh. etc. The idea itself is a logical development of the god's ancient function as lord of the world (RV. 3, 46, 2 etc.).

The *pitaraḥ* are said to satisfy the desires of those who wish for the status of a god, Indra's status, or what is more than this, the sequence *suratvam indratvam eto 'dhikam* being a climax (MarkP.

1. Indra is on the other hand the Vyāsa arranging the Veda in the 7th period : ViP. 3, 3, 13.

93, 30 or 96, 30). The noun *indratvam* does occur before the Mahābhārata, 3, 218, 14 ; 14, 5, 7, viz. at TB. 2, 2, 10, 4 *kaś amāsmin vā idam indriyaṃ pratyasthād iti, tad indrasyendratvam.* In connection with Indra himself the term is found MārkP. 16, 135 (18, 15).

Indra was pleased by receiving the soma juice pressed on the occasion of king Śatrujit's sacrifices (MāakP. 18, 1 or 20, 1)—for soma-drinking gods in the epic : Mbh. 12, 29, 116—; Vedic instances of the god's fondness of the draught need not be given. Śatrujit however is a purāṇic figure ; according to ViP. 4, 8, 5 ff. Pratardana (cf. also BḍP. 67, 67 ff. ; VāP. 92, 64 f.) after defeating the Vītahavyas (or Vītihotras) was called Śatrujit ; his son Vatsa is also (e. g. MārkP.) known as Ṛtadhvaja[1].

In the days of yore Nārada[2] visited Indra, "the king of the gods", surrounded by a band of apsarases, in the paradise Nandana (MārkP. 1, 27 ff.). The god gave the devarṣi respectfully his own seat. According to Mbh. 13, 4865 vulg. this celestial forest is always dear to Nārada, the gandharvas and the apsarases ; Nārada, who is a figure of frequent occurrence in the Mahābhārata, comes to it in 7, 2147 C. ; he and Indra meet and hold a conversation. 3, 44, 14 ; 3, 51, 12 etc. ; 13, 13767. The apsaras Vapu, who plays an important part in MārkP. a. 1, is Mbh. 1, 114, 52 said to have danced at the birth of Arjuna ; in MārkP.2, 36 she sees, as Tārkṣī, Arjuna fighting, and one of Arjuna's arrow-pierces her belly. Nārada is known to the Atharvaveda as a mythical seer, priest and teacher who is considered an expert in special ritual questions, to whom the gods aproached for advice (Av. 12, 4, 42 f.)[3] and no doubt identical with the author of the Nāradasmṛti. The differences in role and 'setting' of this figure are however obvious.

1. For particulars see F. E. Pargiter, Ancient Indian historical tradition, London 1922, p. 269 f. ; W. Kirfel, Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa, Bonn 1927, p. 377.
2. For whom see my book Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, Utrecht 1954, p. 221.
3. See The Savayajñas, p. 361 etc.

Khanīnetra[1] propitiated Indra in order to obtain a son. The god, gratified with his praise, love and austerities, granted him a boon, and the king chose a brave and righteous son who was called Balāśva (118, 1 ff. ; or 121, 1 ff.). This king, Vivimśa's son (117, 1 or 120, 1), is identical with the ruler of that name mentioned Mbh. 14, 4, 7 ; the epic does not however relate the above episode. Khanīnetra (see e. g. also ViP. 4, 1, 16 ; VāP. 86, 7 ; BhāgP. 9, 2, 25) does not as far as I know, occur in Vedic literature. The motif is however old. Already in the ṚV. the god is implored for, or said to give, sons (3, 36, 10 ; 7, 23, 6 ; 8, 46, 15). According to the Mbh. (3, 218, 9) Indra's business is to "bestow strength, energy, children and happiness" ; in 12, 207, 23 he is the divinity of procreative power.[2]

As a rain-god[3] he appears Mārk. P. 25, 23 (27, 22) : just as Indra makes people on the earth confortable with showers of rain..., so should a king make them comfortable with attendance. Another reference to this function, which is well known from classical texts and later sources[4], is made 130, 47 (133, 47). However, Indra gives rain also in the Mahābhārata[5], e. g. 1, 226, 18 B. = 214, 18 cr. ed., and in older texts, even-though rarely-in the Ṛgveda (1, 121, 2 ; 2, 13, 6 ; 4, 26, 2)[6]. This is not to contend with Hopkins[7] that it always was his main and central function to shed rain and bring fertility. These activities are rather to be regarded as one of his many aspects and functions

1. Pargiter, Ancient Indian historical tradition, p. 147.
2. Meyer, Trilogie, III, p. 154 ff. , 165 ; Hopkins, Indra as god of fertility, in J. A. O. S. 36, p. 242.
3. In a description of the season of the rains (ViP. 5, 6, 37 ff.) mention is also made of Indra's bow (st. 41 *cāpena śakrasya*) which held its place in the sky. Occurring from AV. 15, 1, 6 the traditional association of Indra's name with this natural phenomenon gave no offence to fervent Viṣṇuites. Cf. also 5, 9, 5 ; 5, 18, 40 etc. Hence also the application of the name Parjanya to Indra (ViP. 5, 10, 23).
4. Meyer, Trilogie, III.
5. Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 123 ; 127 f. The Indradhvaja festival is also known to the Rāmāyaṇa : Guruge, o. c., p. 169.
6. Compare also my remarks in Ancient Indian kingship, Numen, 3 Leiden 1956), p. 64.
7. Hopkins, in J. A. O. S. 36, p. 242 ff.

which arising from his essential character came especially to the fore in those milieus which were most interested in rain, did not worship other rain-gods (such as the Vedic Parjanya) and did not, or no longer, emphasize other functions of the god Indra[1].

For the sake of comparison I subjoin here the wellknown episode ViP. 5, 10-12 in which Kṛṣṇa after finding that all the cowherds were engaged in preparing for a sacrifice to be offered to Indra and to celebrate his festival[2] dissuades them to worship Śatakratu, the god of clouds and water, and recommends the cowherds to worship cattle and the mountains, and Indra, offended by the loss of his offerings, causes heavy rain, against which Kṛṣṇa shelters the cowherds and their cattle by holding up the mountain Govardhana (see e. g. also Mbh. 2, 38, 9 cr. ed.; 5, 128, 45, not in earlier texts). This story is a typical instance of the latter's animosity against India (st. 36 *kim asmākaṃ mahendreṇa*). Although we are in the dark about the exact date of this legend, which is also found in Har. 3787 ff. = 2, 15, 19 ff. etc.[3]), the conclusion seems warranted that it reflects the spread of the Kṛṣṇa cult-Kṛṣṇa is the mountain which is to be worshipped etc.; the cowherds sing his praise—at Indra's cost, who obviously was the god worshipped by the rural residents of the Mathurā region. In Mbh. 2, 35 it is Nārada who knew that the creator —Hari, the strength of whose arrows is praised by Indra and the other gods—himself had taken his birth in the race of the Yādavas. At the end of the ViP. episode Indra is indeed said to become desirous of seeing and honouring Kṛṣṇa, who, although the preserver of the whole world, presents himself to him, the king of the gods, as a cowherd, it is true, but accompanied by Garuḍa. Indra declares that the gods are pleased and installs Kṛṣṇa as Upendra and Govinda, requesting him to defend Arjuna who was a portion of his own being. Finally, "the king of the gods" returns to heaven after having embraced Kṛṣṇa. According to the Harivaṃśa, 2, 19, 47, Indra also relinquished

1. See also Religionen Indiens, I, p. 48 ff.
2. for which see Meyer, o. c., III.
3. See Meyer, o. c., III, p. 124 ff. and especially p. 131, n. 3.

to Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu his rights to half, i.e. two months, of the rains which hitherto had belonged to him.

From Mārk P. 26, 18 (29, 18) and 51, 18 (54, 18) it appears that MārkP., in accordance with the Hinduist theory, considered Indra to be the lokapāla of the eastern region[1]. The exact district assigned to each lokapāla is however not specified so early as are the names (cf. e. g. Mbh. 5, 48, 4 cr. ed. Śakra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera). Thus all eight of them occur in Manu 5, 96, but without indication of the localitities assigned to the individual gods. The Mahābhārata does not know a group of eight (cf. MārkP. 51. 18 or 54, 18), but counts the world protectors as a group of four, representing only cardinal points; the four relative gods sometimes appear as a group without express mention of their being lokapālas (e. g. Mbh. 7, 50, 43 cr. ed.; cf. MārkP. 26, 18 or 29, 18). The four are, moreover, not always the same. For Indra probably residing in the East see e.g. Mbh. 3, 164, 11 ff, but in 8, 30, 76 the gods living in that region are said to have Agni as their leader; this is the Vedic idea ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 2[2]. According to Rām. 2, 25, 9 Vāsava (=Indra) is the leader of the lokapālas. As a lokapāla the god is, together with his colleagues and the ṛṣis[3], implored for bliss and courage on behalf of a prince who should as a powerful monarch exercise sovereignty. Indra is also in the ViP. the regent of the East, but now he has a city on the eastern side of the Mānasottara mountain[4], this residence and those of the other lokopālas being situated in the quarters of the universe "around Mount Meru" (2, 2, 30); it is called Vasvaukasārā (2, 8, 8, f.); in Mbh. 7, 67, 16 vulg. (a later addition in the Droṇaparvan) Vasvokasārā is the abode of Kubera. The balī offering presented to him as the presiding deity of that region (3, 11, 44) is on the other hand also prescribed by Āśvalā-

1. See e. g. W. Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, Bonn—Leipzig 1920, p. 34; Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 149.
2. See also A. A. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, Strassburg 1897, p. 34.
3. "The sages are often shown in the company of gods, thus elevating their status", D. R. Patil, Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa, Poona 1946, p. 21.
4. For other sources and particulars see Kirfel, Die Kosmographie der Inder, p. 34; 121.

yana, GS. 1, 2, 5[1] ; ViS. 67, 15 ; Manu 3, 87 etc. The abode (*sthānam*) of Indra, i. e. the Indraloka[2], is also according to Märk P. 116, 19 (119, 19) ; ViP. 1, 6, 34 the region of the deceased kṣatriyas who do not fly from the battlefield. See, for epic literature e.g. Mbh 13, 3768 ; Rām. 1, 41, 10 cr. ed. In the śravaṇaphala of MārkP. 134, 36 (or 137, 36) a prospect of a sojourn in svarga and the other lokas while being surrounded by Indra and other gods etc. is held out to those who hear this work.

An interesting role is attributed to the traditional king of the gods in the story of Vipaścit, who would prolong his stay in hell, because all denizens of that region become happy by his mere presence : then Dharma and Indra arrive to lead him away (MārkP. 15, 66 ff.). It is Indra's task to call Vipaścit to heaven (st. 69) as appears also from 8, 237 ff. where he appears to invite king Hariścandra to the celestial regions. These stories are variants on the theme found in Mbh. 3, 42, 38 (cf. also 3, 38, 36 ff.) where Indra is said to have promised to send his chariot to take Arjuna to heaven (see also ch. 43 ff). In Rām. 7, 106, 17 vulg. it is Lakṣmaṇa who is taken to the same region by the same god *pragṛhya lakṣmaṇaṃ śakras tridivaṃ saṃviveśa ha*).

Chapter 5 of the MārkP. deals to a certain extent with Indra's transformations. Because of his wrong conduct–he had slain Tvaṣṭar's son and thus committed brahmanicide–his tejas entered Dharma. Thereupon, violating the rules of a treaty he slew Vṛtra who had been created by Tvaṣṭar as Indra's enemy. Then his physical strength (*balam*) quitted his body and entered the wind. When, thereupon, Indra, assuming the form of Gautama, violated Ahalyā, he lost his beautiful *rūpam* which went to the Aśvins. Perceiving the lord of the gods to have lost his dharma, tejas etc. the daityas made an attempt to conquer him. The earth, being oppressed by their weight, complains of this nuisance to the gods, who then descended with portions of their tejas to alleviate her burden. Dharma relinquishing Indra's tejas was born Yudhiṣṭhira ; Vāyu was born Bhīma ; from the

1. P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II, Poona 1941, p. 745.
2. See Loka, p. 28 etc.

half of Indra's vīrya was born Dhanañjaya. The youngest Pāṇḍavas resembled Indra in rūpa. Thus Indra became incarnate in five forms. Here we are confronted with a combination of mythical tales forming a comparatively recent articulated whole The animosity between Indra and Tvaṣṭar[1] was already known to the poets of the Ṛgveda. The latter's son, a three-headed demon, is slain by Indra with the help of Trita (ṚV. 10, 8, 8 f.). Tvaṣṭar's paternity of Vṛtra is mentioned by the aitihāsikas quoted by Yāska 2, 16. Indra's committing brahmanicide is likewise an ancient theme; ŚB. 1, 2, 3, 2 he kills Tvaṣṭar's son, now called Viśvarūpa, but is freed from the sin of brahmahatyā "because he is a god"[2]. In ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 1 ff. the whole story—Indra kills Tvaṣṭar's son, and Tvaṣṭar fashions Vṛtra—is related in a more detailed and coherent form. Mbh. 5, a. 9 ff. informs us that Indra slew Viśvarūpa Triśiras, Tvaṣṭar's son; Tvaṣṭar then created Vṛtra who attacked Indra, who slew his enemy with a mass of froth—in the Veda (ṚV. 8, 14, 13) this particular belongs to the Namuci episode; cf. also Mbh. 9, a. 42 !—, this act being equal to the murder of a brahman; from this sin the god is liberated in a. 13 (the sin is divided among trees, rivers, mountains, the earth and women). The love-story of Indra and Ahalyā is, it is true, passingly mentioned in ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 18 but not connected with the preceding occurrences (cf. also ṢB. 1, 1, 19 f.; TĀ. 1, 12, 4[3]; for Ahalyā's violation by Indra see also Mbh. 5, 12, 6; 12, 329, 14 and Rām. 1,47, 15 ff. stating that Indra in consequence of his crime was emasculated. The earth's being oppressed by the weight of the demons is another story. (For the phraseology

1. The two purāṇas under examination do not refer to Tvaṣṭar's concealing the soma (see K. F. Geldner's note, Der Rig-veda übersetzt, I, Cambridge Mass, 1951, p. 108; ŚB. 12, 7,1, 1 ff.); see however e. g. VāP. 78, 6: in spite of Indra's opposition, Tvaṣṭar drank soma and in consequence of this deed was hurled down on the earth by the god. From this event the śyāmaka trees had their origin.

2. See also S. Rodhe, Deliver us from evil, Lund—Copenhagen 1946, p. 159.

3. See also H. Oertel in J, A. O. S. 26, p. 186; Meyer, Trilogie, III, p. 156.

compare e.g. Mbh. 3, 42, 22: Arjuna will lighten the burden of the earth by slaying the wicked enemies). Dharma born Yudhiṣṭhira is a variant of the epic theme: Dharma as Yudhiṣṭhira's father' the latter being also an aṃśa of the god. Mbh. 1, 61, 84; 1, 90, 69, another variant being the incarnation of the five Indras as the five Pāṇḍavas (Mbh. 1, 189, 27)[1].

A variation on another ancient theme, viz. the god's ability to assume different forms[2], occurs Mārk P. 3, 19 ff. where Indra appears to the ṛṣi Sukṛṣa in the shape of an aged bird, asking that venerable man for human flesh; the latter ordered his four sons to sacrifice themselves; they refused and were cursed by their father; as thereupon the father promised to offer himself, the god resumed his own form, asked the ṛṣi's forgiveness, granted him the revelation of "knowledge like Indra's" and departed. The god's disguises are too well known to need comment[3]—already in the Ṛgveda he is *pururūpa*—: 6, 47, 18; cf. 3, 53, 8, and he transforms himself into an ant (1, 51, 9) and a ram (1, 52, 1)—; in the Mbh. 12, 11, 2 ff. he takes the form of "a golden bird" teaching beardless young fools how to reach heaven by rites; in 1, 73, 4 he changes himself into a wind; 3, 131, 28 he assumed the shape of a hawk; 12, 11, 4 he discourses with some ṛṣis in the shape of a golden bird, etc.

Passing mention is in the MārkP. made to his having married Śacī (18, 17 P.; 69, 7; 85, 1); similarly, ViP. 1, 9, 7; 5, 21, 16. This woman occurs, in a formula, at ŚGS. 1, 12, 6 together with Aditi and Apālā; although Indra is in the passage-which deals with wedding ceremonies-not mentioned, she is certainly supposed to be his wife. The anukramaṇī moreover considers her to have divulged the poem ṚV. 10. 159. As is well known[4] the god is already in the ṚV. known as *śacīvat*—"possessing might" ar *śacīpati*—(1, 106, 6 etc.) "lord of might" (later, e.g. Mbh., "husba of Sacī). The goddess often occurs in the Mbh., cf. e. g. .

1. ViP. 4, 20, 11 mentions the version: Arjuna was begotten by Indra, Yudhiṣṭhira by Dharma etc.
2. See above.
3. See also Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 136 f.
4. Cf. also my book Epithets in the Ṛgveda, The Hague 1959, p. 31; 67.

102, 9 *vāsavasya śacīm iva*, and in other purāṇas, e.g. Bḍ. 2, 13, 79; 3, 6, 23; Vā. 68, 22; 24; Ma. 6, 21.—The conception of Indra's and, in general a god's śakti (Devīm.; a. 85 or 88), though generally speaking typical of a later period, may be regarded as being partly based on the figure of Śacī and her relation to her husband[1]. It is she who took away Vṛtra's life-breath (88 or 91, 17). It is the god's śakti to which in st. 34 is ascribed the feat formerly and elsewhere attributed to the god himself, viz. the destruction of the demons. Her combat with the great asura Raktabīja (st. 39 or 41)[2] whom she struck with her vajra, is BḍP. 4, 29, 76 ascribed to Durgā. For the vajra see also 13, 8; 86 (89), 39; 132 (135), 13. In 85 (88), 46 this Aindrī hits the same antagonist with her club (*gadā*). The term *gadā* is not Vedic and is in epic literature the weapan used by Kubera[3].

Let us now pass on to some episodes which may be regarded as throwing some light on Indra's position among the other gods and powerful beings. In MārkP. ch. 16 the story—in all probability non-Vedic—is told of the devoted wife of a brahman who was struck by a curse so that he was to die at sunrise, but his wife restrained the sun from rising, with the result that all activity ceased and the universe was about to pass into dissolution. Then Indra and the other gods approached Atri's wife Anasūyā (st. 69), at whose exhortatiou the wife relents and the sun rises. This is a variant of a story referred to in Ram. 2, 109, 12 in which Anasūyā was so vigorous an ascetic that she made ten nights one because her friend was cursed to become a widow to-morrow[4]: here no mention is made of Indra. The conclusion is warranted that the author of this Mārk. passage was inclined explicitly to attribute to Indra his traditional role of a champion of the normal and natural order of things in the universe. In this function—which may be regarded as a natural consequence of his great inaugura-

1. For particulars see Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 273 ff.
2. See V. S. Agrawala, Devīmāhātmyam, The glorification of the great Goddess, Varanasi 1963, p. 211 f.
3. Cf. Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 123.
4. See also Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 184.

tory, ordering (rather than creative) and regulative activity emphasized in the Veda—his figure has been introduced into an edifying story connected with the non-Vedic Anasūyā who not only restores the husband of the wife whose faithfulness and devotion are glorified, but is explicitly described as being able to achieve an object which was beyond Indra's power, because the god has to resort to her for it.

The theme "Indra resorting to a Higher Being"[1] is represented in MārkP. 16, 134 or 18, 14. Garga, his minister, advises king Arjuna, Kṛtavīrya's son, to propitiate the muni Dattātreya[2], who, being an aṃśa of Viṣṇu, had also been propitiated by Indra, when he has lost his position (*padam*, explained by *indratvam*) which was seized by the daityas.

MārkP. 16, 135 ff. (18, 15 ff.) relates the story of Indra's losing his *indratvam*—the daityas deprived him of it—and of his recovering this dignity : in a fierce contest between the gods and their enemies, the chief of the latter was Jambha, the leader of the former Indra. This asura Jambha, who may be identical with the in all probability demoniac cause of a disease Jambha in Vedic texts (AV. 2, 4, 2 ; 8, 1, 16 ; Kauś. 32, 1 ; 35, 13)[3], is e. g. Mbh. 3, 100, 22 cr. ed. slain by Viṣṇu, 7, 10, 5 by Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva ; elsewhere however (7 57, 81 Indra and Viṣṇu are desirous of killing him, but 7, 77, 17 he was in a combat between gods and asuras slain by Indra.[4] Hopkins[5] is no doubt right in considering, in the development of this mythical theme, Indra the first in the order of Jambha's killers : cf. 7, 77, 17 "in the struggle of gods and asuras of old Indra slew Jambha" ; 7, 71, 20 ; 8, 55, 3

1. See above.
2. See Sri Jaya Chamarajendra Wadiyar, Dattātreya, London 1957.
3. Cf. W. Caland, in Z. D. M. G. 53, p. 224 f. (Lock-jaw, trismus, not with M. Bloomfield, Hymns of the Atharvaveda, Oxford 1897, p. 283 "convulsion, colic") ; J. Filliozat, La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne, Paris 1949, p. 106.
4. For further particulars see e. g. also S. Surensen, An index to the names of the Mahābhārata, London 1904 (Varanasi 1963), p. 349.
5. Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 134.

cr. ed. etc.[1] Such passing references to mythical feats often belong, it is true, to the stock repertoire of heroic deeds of the gods and their enemies but it is worth remarking that there is an uninterrupted tradition reaching back to Vedic antiquity according to which Indra is defeated by demons, his wellknown antagonists. Thus Namuci took from him his energy, vital power, Soma draught and food (ŚB. 12, 7, 1, 10) ; even men may by a definite ritual technique thrust the god out of his 'world' (ŚB. 8, 5. 3, 8). Prahlāda is said to have deprived him of his sovereignty (Mbh. 12, 124, 19) ; Bali prevents him from ruling his kingdom (12, 326, 74), etc. The theme admits of endless variation.

Thus Mārk P. in illustration of the vicissitudes of fate, mentions Indra's combat with Śambara (2, 53) and with the dānavas (2, 54) ; his conflict with the daityas or asuras occurs 102, 22 or 105, 22 ; cf. also 113, 8 or 116, 8. As to the first conflict the text states that the god hurled his weapon against that well-known demon who, though pierced by it to the heart, did not however perish. Passing mention of this combat is, without reference to particulars, often made, e. g. Mbh. 3, 165, 18 ; 5, 16, 14 ; 12, 99, 48, where the demon is said to have been vanquished by the god.[2] This combat was well known to the poets of the RV. (1, 101, 2 etc.), which however says that the demon was thrown down from a mountain (4, 30, 14 ; 6, 26, 5 etc.) ; or his strongholds are destroyed (1, 103, 8 etc.).[3] According to Sāyaṇa Śambara is the invulnerable antagonist of RV. 6, 26, 3[4] ; at 1, 54, 4 Indra is said to have fought against Śambara's hand, which must mean that this enemy, though slain, was not dead at once.

1. The name of the asura (dānava) leader Vipracitti—who is not, as is suggested by Pargiter's translation (The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna translated, Calcutta 1904, p. 102) the leader of the gods : read *vipracitti-mukhair devā dānavais te parājitaiḥ* ; cf. also MārkP. 4, 56 ; 88, 39 f. 91, 39 f.)—does not seem to occur before the Mahābhārata.

2. For other passages see Surensen, p. 192 f.

3. For particulars see also A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, Vedic index of names and subjects, Varanasi 1958, II, p. 355.

4. See however Geldner's note : K. F. Geldner, Der Rig-veda übersetzt, II, Cambridge 1951, p. 125.

Cf. also MS. 4, 14, 7 : 225, 10 *Indraḥ puraḥ śambarasyābhinat*; 4, 14, 13 : 236 13 *indro devāñ śambarahatya āvat*; AiĀ. 5, 2, 5 etc. For other details see ṚV. 1, 51, 6 ; 1, 54, 4 ; 2, 12, 11. As to Indra's other combats with the daityas etc. the statement made in MārkP. 2, 54 "by that very vajra and by the same Indra, when their time had come, the dānavas were slain, the daityas forthwith perished" is conventional, but as it reads not Vedic. cf. ṚV. 5, 29, 4 ; 5, 32, 1 ; 5, 32, 7 (*dānava*—in the singular and doubtless identical with Vṛtra[1]), the plural occurring e. g. AV. 4, 24, 2 ; 10, 6, 10 ; ŚB. 11, 5, 5, 13). The daityas, mentioned as Diti's sons in AV. 7. 7. 1, are in post-Vedic mythology enemies of the gods[2], being often coupled with the dānavas. In harmony with the epic usage MārkP. 102, 22 (105, 22) includes both groups among the asuras. The detail concerning Mārtaṇḍa's (the Sun's) burning up these asuras (102, 24 or 105, 24) is, in this form, not old.

Mārk P. 2, 23 reference is in a brief simile made to a combat between Garuḍa and Indra, that is, no doubt, to the events narrated Mbh. 1, a. 29 cr. ed. : when Garuḍa, to end his mother's servitude, carried off the amṛta, Indra, after having caused the gods to surround and watch the divine draught hurled his weapon at the bird which had made various attempts to escape ; afterwards Indra and Garuḍa made eternal friendship with each other ; Garuḍa, who should henceforth feed on the snakes, put down the draught, which was brought to heaven by Indra. This story does not appear before the Mahābhārata.[3] Whatever the 'original nature' of Garuḍa, his association with Viṣṇu which is also referred to in this story—he met with this god on his way and they agreed that Garuḍa[4] should sit on Viṣṇu's flagstaff—is, as far as we are able to see, likewise post-Vedic. What interests us here is that Indra acts in a way as the leader and champion of the gods and that Viṣṇu, asking the mighty bird to

1. Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 59 ; 158 ; cf. TB. 2, 8, 3, 7 ; ŚB. 1, 6, 3, 9.
2. For particulars see Hopkins, Epic mythology, p. 46 ff.
3. Cf. Change and continuity, p. 59,
4. Cf. Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, P. 101 ff.

become his vāhana, associates himself with Indra's antagonist. Although Indra carries the day, that episode is a piece of evidence of Viṣṇu's beginning ascendency over his former elder brother[1]. The same tendency is perceptible in similar stories told in other purāṇas, e.g. in that of Garuḍa's discomfiting Indra's mount Airāvata[2], ViP. 5, 30, 64 ff.; Matsya P. 150, 219 etc. In the ViP. Indra's defeat is unambiguous: although "the king of the gods and the foe of Madhu" are said to overwhelm each other with countless shafts (st. 63), the former was disarmed ("I am not ashamed of being vanquished by him who is the creator...") and his elephant disabled by Garuḍa.

The tendency noticed above to 'replace' Indra by Viṣṇu, to ascribe feats which in older texts were performed by the former to the latter, to represent the latter as higher and mightier is however much more pronounced in some episodes of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.

The adventures of Bhūmi's son Naraka did not fail deeply to impress both poets and devotees, but to the research-worker they propound some intriguing problems. Naraka's defeat by Kṛṣṇa is a well-known story, although the versions are widely different.[3] As a rule Kṛṣṇa marches out against the demon and beats him in his own fortress Prāgjyotiṣa; thereupon Kṛṣṇa recovers Aditi's ear-rings which were stolen by Naraka. A younger chapter of Mbh. 3, after 142 cr. ed. says that for the sake of Indra, Viṣṇu slew the demon who desired the position of Indra. According to ViP. 5, a 29 Indra, the lord of the tripartite universe, came one day seated on his mount Airāvata to Dvārakā, and reported to Kṛṣṇa the tyranny of Naraka who had carried off the maidens

1. Cf. Die Religionen Indiens, I, p. 239 f. We need not consider here the other elements of the story. For Garuḍa and the soma see also K. F. Johansson, Solfageln i Indien, Upsala 1910; J. Charpentier, Die Suparṇasage, Upsala 1920.

2. For Airāvata also ViP. 1, 9, 7; MārkP. 79, 21 or 82, 21 etc.

3. For a good collection of the main relevant data see A. Teeuw Bhomakāwya, Thesis Utrecht 1946, p. 13 ff. The variants of the principal theme and its combinations with other themes need not detain us here.

of gods etc., and the ear-rings of Aditi. "Having heard this account, the divine Hari smiled and rising from his throne took Indra by the hand" (st. 13). He flew, on Garuḍa, to Prāgjyotiṣa and destroyed the demon, The text does not forget to say that Indra mounting his elephant, went, in the sight of the inhabitants of Dvārakā, to the abode of the gods (st. 15). Yet, it may be asked whether this act of heroism, so popular in Viṣṇuite circles[1] was not originally ascribed to Indra, who in fact is at Mbh. 3, 165, 18 incidentally said to have defeated not only his traditional antagonists Namuci, Śambara, Vala and Vṛtra, but also Prahlāda as well as Naraka. In favour of this supposition attention may be drawn to the, in a way parallel, story of the daitya or asura Prahlāda. Now, this demon appears, as Prahrāda, already TB. 1, 5, 9. 1 where it is told that, when the gods and the asuras had come into conflict, Prajāpati hid Indra, his eldest son, for fear that the enemies would kill him, and Prahrāda for the same reason, prevented his eldest son Virocana from being found. In other Vedic texts Indra prides himself on having crushed the descendents or followers ef Prahlāda (ŚĀ. 5, 1 ; KauṣU. 3, 1). The Mahābhārata, 3, 165, 18 ; 12. 99, 49; I4, 9, 30 informs us that the demoniac king had indeed been defeated by Indra ; their combat is also referred to at 3, 270, 12, whereas the same epos has 2, 61, 58 ff. the story of Virocana, Prahlādā's son who, for tñe sake of obtaining a bride, quarrelled with Sudhanvān Āṅgirasa ; when Prahlāda was made the arbitrator between them he was threatened by tbe prospect that if he should answer falsely, Indra would split his head into a hundred pieces. Although the figure of Prahlāda was to be radically transformed[2], this ancient motif of Prahlāda's conflict with a god, and in the first place with Indra did not pass into oblivion[3]. The combat of Indra and Prahlād was in the epic so popular that the poets often referred to it in similes (Mbh. 3, 270, 12 ; 3, 273, 18 etc.) ; the former became the leader of the gods only after the defeat of this enemy (12, 99, 48 f.). Ancient purāṇic texts make likewise mention of this combat,

1. See Aspects of early Viṣṇuism, p. 141.
2. I refer to P .Hacker Prahlāda, Maĩnz Acad. 1959, nos. 9 and 13.
3. See also Hacker, o. c., p. 17.

although they differ from each other with regard to its scene and circumstances (see e. g. MtP. 24, 37 f. = PP. 1, 12, 79 f. ; BḍP. 2, 72, 79 etc.[1] However, a third purāṇic source—and interestingly enough—a śivaite one, replaces Indra by Viṣṇu : BḍP. 2, 73. 81 f. = VāP. 98, 81[2], adding that also Namuci and Śambara, Indra's ancient enemies, were killed by that god. The Mahābhārata does not seem to have known, or to have adopted, this development of the legend, which was also in later times handed down by Śivaites and Śāktists (e. g. KūrmaP. 16, 84ff.[3]; DevīBhP. 4, 10, 34ff. ; 4, 15, 1ff.[4]) but was completely out of harmony with the Viṣṇuite transfromation of the figure of the demon, What interests us here is the part played by Indra and his supersession by Viṣṇu. There may finally be room here for the addition that DevīBhP. 4, 15, 1ff. both antagonists are praised by and are inferior to Devī.

This is otherwise in the episode ViP. 1, 9 which deals with the great ṛṣi Durvāsas who—also according to a later passage in the Mahābhārata (1, 8132) which knows him very well—was a portion of Śiva himself (cf. also BhāgP. 4, 1, 33), is a clear instance of, on the one hand, the superiority of might and influence ascribed to sages and ascetics, beside whom the greatest deities paled and, on the other hand, the importance of Brahmā as the highest adviser, and especially of the ascendancy obtained by Viṣṇu over his colleagues. Indra treats a garland which is presented to him by Durvāsas disrespectfully and is therefore cursed by the latter : he will lose his sovereignty over the three worlds. The sage remains adamant although the god hastily descends from his elephant to offer his apologies. Thenceforth the three worlds and Śakra lost their splendour-and-prosperity (śrī-), and deprived of energy, Indra *cum suis* were overcome in fight by the daityas and dānavas. They took refuge with Brahmā who advised them to repair for protection to Viṣṇu, the god of

1. See Kirfel, Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa, p. 406 and 490.
2. Kirfel, o. c., p. 515.
3. See Hacker, o. c., p. 189.
4. See Hacker, o. c., p. 219.

high and low and tamer of the demons. Along with the gods he then proceeded himself to praise Hari, imploring him to lend his assistance. After much praise and many prayers Hari promised to restore the gods' strength, instructing them to churn, together with the daityas, the ocean. So far this story consists of three parts: Durvāsas' curse, the defeat of the gods and their having recourse to Brahmā and Viṣṇu and the churning of the ocean. Durvāsas is, it is true, Mbh. 2, 7, 10 among the ṛṣis in Indra's place and well known for his irascibility (13, 159,17 vulg.), but the part which he plays in the above story is not assigned to him by the epic.[1] Other sources, AgniP. and BhāgP. refer only briefly to his anger in connection with the churning of the ocean, without narrating the circumstances.[2] As a son of Atri and Anasūyā he occurred in the chronologically second group of purāṇic texts dealing with creation and secondary or continued creation, viz. Agni, Garuḍa, Kūrma, Mārkaṇḍeya and Viṣṇu.[3] The defeat of the gods through daityas and dānavas is the normal continuation of the Vedic combats between gods and asuras. Brahmā's, role as an adviser is of course not Vedic, but epic (Mbh. 1, 197, 5 vulg. ; 3, 98, 5 ; 104, 1) ; as Grandfather (Vip. 1, 9, 67) he appears Manu 1. 9. The oldest versions of the mythical narrative of the churning of the ocean (Mbh. 1, a. 16 ; Rām. 1, 44 (45))—which ascribe this event to the desire of gods and asuras to obtain the amṛta—as well as those contained in Harivaṃśa and MatsyaP. (a. 251) make no mention of Durvāsas and his curse. Rather than being an "embellishment"[4] the introduction of the Durvāsas episode into this narrative must in my opinion have proceeded from the author's wish to create in the figure of Indra, misbehaving, cursed and defeated, and in the evil plight of the gods a negative complement to the glory and omnipotence[5] of Viṣṇu, through

1. See further on.
2. For some other details see H. H. Wilson—F. Hall, The Vi-hṇu Purāṇa, I, London 1864, p. 146.
3. Kirfel, Purāṇa pañcalakṣāna, 42, st. 6.
4. Wilson—Hall, o. c., I, p. 146.
5. Whose conduct, by the way, is in the continuation of the story, rather ambiguous (st. 80 ; 108).

whom the gods obtained the amṛta, regained their vigour and defeated their enemies and after paying homage to that great god, resumed their reign in heaven. Then also the three worlds became prosperous again and Śakra recovered his fortune (*śrī-*). Characteristically enough this god is said to have eulogized, while seated on his heavenly throne, the goddess Śrī, who, being gratified, accords him a boon (st. 132 f.). The two requests formulated by the old god agreed to by Viṣṇu's spouse, are in fact a recognition of the latter's superiority: the universe will henceforth never again be deprived of her presence and she will not forsake the man who will adore her with the words of praise pronounced by Indra, who therefore may be considered to have in a way inaugurated her cult.

That in the ViP. the dānava Kaṃsa, addressing his chief asuras, holds Indra and the other gods in contempt (5, 4, 1 ff.), describing the king of the gods as a coward, is small wonder, but it is worth mentioning that also Nārada,[1] witnessing the fall of the horse-demon Keśin, puts Indra's fear of the monster on record (5, 16, 22).

Another piece of evidence of Indra's inferior position occurs at 5, 1, 79. Instructing Yoganidrā, his mahāmāyā, to play her part in connection with the future birth of Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu tells her that she will escape from Kaṃsa's grasp into the sky where Indra, through reverence for Viṣṇu, will honour her.

The story told Mbh. 5, 128, 48 (also alluded to at 7, 10, 2.) about the pārijāta tree, of which Indra is robbed by Kṛṣṇa, occurs ViP. 5, 30, 28 ff.: when visiting Indra's gardens to which their owner conducted him respectfully Kṛṣṇa carries off the tree, which belongs to Śacī, at the desire of his wife Satyabhāmā, who to this humiliation adds the comment that Indra has no exclusive right to that which is the common property of all the worlds. Indra, accompanied by the army of the celestials, is in a really epical combat defeated by Kṛṣṇa and scoffed at by Satyabhāmā. He recognizes his opponent as the Lord and parts with his tree.

1. See the remarks made in another part of this article,

ViP. 5, 21, 14 f. Kṛṣṇa summons Vāyu to go to Indra and to order him—"enough of his pride"—to resign his splendid hall Sudharman (or Sudharmā) to Ugrasena whom he places on the throne ; this famous (cf. e. g. Kāl. Ragh. 17, 27) royal hall, "the unrivalled gem of princely courts", will henceforth be the assembly hall of the Yādavas. Indra obeys immediately[1]. That this hall originally belonged to the gods (see also Rām. 2, 50, 20 cr. ed.) but was given to Kṛṣṇa appears also from the Har. 6565 ff. (2, 58, 70 ff.) which gives—with some variations—the same story. In the Mbh. it is an established fact that the Sudharmā belongs to the Daśārhas or Yādavas (1, 212, 10 cr. ed. etc.).

It would however be incorrect to suppose that all narratives of events in which Indra plays a role are in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa onesidedly 'Viṣṇuite' and tendentious, regarding the person and the superiority of Indra with disfavour. Relating the descendants of Kaśyapa by Danu and other wives ViP. 1, 21 comes to speak of Diti who after propitiating Kaśyapa obtains a boon, viz. a son of irresistible prowess who would destroy Indra (st. 31).[2] When the latter learnt that Diti bore this child he "attended upon her with the utmost humility" (st. 35) and, as soon as the opportunity occurred, divided the embryo into seven times seven portions. These became the Maruts, who were so called because Maghavat, whose associates they were to be, had addressed them : *mārodīḥ*. This story occurs also in the other purāṇic texts which exhibit the oldest version of the genealogies[3] : BrP. 3, 110 ff. ; Har. 1, 3, 23 ff. ; ŚiPDhs. 54, 83 ff.[4] The epic does not however openly recognize the number of 49 Maruts, although it may be implied in Mbh. 9, 37, 31 ; the story of Indra destroying Diti's embryo is alluded to in Mbh. 5, 108, 8. The pseudo-etymological origin of the name—which goes back to the well-known Vedic interpretation

1. The initial position of the verb *dadau* in st. 16 indicates the immediate sequence of actions.
2. For Diti practising severe austerities to secure a son who would be the annihilator of Indra see also VāP. 67, 88 ff.
3. Kirfel, Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa, p. 171 f.
4. For comparatively younger versions (Mtp., PP.) see e. g. Kirfel, o. c., p. 222.

of Rudra's name in TS. 1. 5, 1, 1 "he wept (*arodīt*), that is why he is called Rudra"—is also known to Vālmīki, Rām. 1, 46, 4 cr. ed. where (a. 45 f.) the whole story, being linked up very well with the immediately preceding narrative of the churning of the ocean which ends with Indra slaying the asuras, is—at greater length and with some variations (for instance the seven Maruts are not divided again, but they become the guardians of the 49 winds) and greater emphasis on Indra's humility—narrated also. In the Veda the Maruts are thrice sixty, or thrice seven in number. Their birth is often referred to ; they are the sons of Rudra and the cow Pṛśni.[1] The name ef Diti occurs already in the Ṛgveda and her sons—later called the daityas—are mentioned at AV. 7, 7, 1. It is the name of Rudra (ŚB. 11, 6, 3, 7) or the Rudras (ŚB. 9, 1, 1, 6)—who are often identical with the Maruts—to whom, as already stated, the pseudo-etymology applies. Indra and the Maruts are closely connected in the Veda, but not in the above way.[2] So the story impresses us as an attempt to admit the Maruts into the genealogy of the divinities by making them sons of Diti and Kaśyapa, to explain their name, their forming a group, and their being Indra's associates. The figure of Indra is somewhat ambiguous ; he is, it is true, a mighty god, who even acquires a host of subordinates., but his position is not unchallenged. The Viṣṇuite element is on the other hand absent.

In the Raji episode (ViP. 4, 9) Indra comes, it is true, to the fore as the great champion of Vedic religion who slays its contemners, but also as inferior to Āyus' son Raji. Raji[3] who is known to the Mbh. (1, 75, 25 vulg.), and perhaps as an antagonist of the god also to the ṚV. (6, 26, 6 Indra slew Raji for Piṭhīnas), had after assisting the gods in one of their conflicts with the daityas become their Indra. Placing Raji's feet upon his head Indra, being deprived of his status, acknowledged him as his father and sovereign. When Raji died his sons demanded the same rank, and as Indra refused to acknowledge their supremacy,

1. For particulars see Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 78 ; 125.
2. For other variants of tke story see Wilson—Hall, o. c., II, p. 80.
3. Pargiter, Anc. Ind. hist. tradition, p. 85 ff. ; Patil, o. c., p. 9 ; 47 ; 108.

they reduced him to submission by force. With Bṛhaspati's help the latter succeeded in leading the princes into error and in conquering them. The episode is told at greater length in an older version (BḍP. 2, 67, 83 ff.; BrP. 11, 6 ff.; VāP. 92, 78 ff.; Har. 1480 (1, 28, 8 ff.) and in another group of texts (MtP. 24, 36 ff.; PadmaP. 1, 12, 78 ff.) which concur in ascribing Raji's success to a boon accorded to him by Viṣṇu. This detail is interestingly enough not (yet) mentioned in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa.[1]

ViP. 4, 7, 4 f. recounts the story of Kuśāmba (Kuśāśva), who being desirous of a son who should be equal to Indra engaged in tapas, so that the god, being alarmed, determined to take upon himself the character of the king's son. Accordingly he was born as Gādhi Kauśika (Viśvāmitra's father), who was to have a daughter Satyavatī. This non-Viṣṇuite narrative is found at greater length in a doubtless older version BiP. 10, 25 ff.; Hariv. 1427 (1, 27, 13) ff.; BḍP. 2, 66, 33 ff.[2], where the king is called Kuśika,[3] and further in Mbh. 12, 49, 6 *putratvam agamad rājaṃs tasya lokeśvareśvaraḥ*; in Rām. 1, 33, 1 ff. cr. ed. no mention is made of Gādhi's incarnating Indra and the king is called Kuśanābha, who obtains a son after sacrificing. Notice the god's motif to be born as Gādhi.

There are of course other ways of expressing the superiority of Viṣṇu, the Īśvara, to Indra, one of the devas. Praising Kṛṣṇa the nāga Kāliya describes him as the Supreme Spirit, "from whom come Brahmā, Rudra, Candra, Indra, the Maruts etc." (ViP. 5, 7, 60), and Akrūra eulogizing him, states him to be Brahmā, Paśupati ... and the lord of the gods (Indra : 5, 18, 56) etc. In a non-Viṣṇuite context, VāP. 69, 122 it reads *rudraṃ brahmāṇaṃ indraṃ ca lokapālān ṛṣīn manūn*. Hari's nature is unknown to Brahmā, Indra, Rudra, the Aśvins etc. (notice this order ; ViP. 5, 17, 9). In addressing Viṣṇu, Brahmā declares that

1. As is well known Viṣṇu's superiority is also referred to in other non-Viṣṇuite purāṇic contexts : cf. e. g. BḍP. 2, 3, 113 ; VāP. 63, 136 *tribhiḥ kramair imāṃl lokān jitvā viṣṇur trivikramaḥ / pratyapādayad indrāya devebhyaś caiva sa prabhuḥ.*
2. Kirfel, Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa, p. 362.
3. See also Wilson—Hall, IV, p. 16.

he himself, Indra (the text has Vṛtraripu), the Aśvins, Varuṇa etc. are prepared to execute Viṣṇu's orders (ViP. 5, 1, 57) : although occupying a high place in the enumeration Indra is second to Brahmā and all the gods are Viṣṇu's servants (cf. 58). Accordingly Maghavat is said to reign over the three worlds through Viṣṇu's favour (1, 12, 80).

It is however a hazardous procedure to make any conclusion about Indra's position among, and relation to, other gods from enumerations of names etc., because the order in which they are given may be largely conditioned by the exigencies of rhythm and versification. Rudra, the Maruts, the Aśvins, Śatakratu and the (other) gods cannot equal his actions (5, 20, 91 ; here the longest member occupies the last place in the dvandva compound[1]). Thus, in an enumeration of higher beings belonging to various categories Indra, though occupying the third place after the seven ṛṣis and the surāḥ, may be supposed to figure as the chief of the latter : ViP. 1, 3, 16. I would therefore not consider the order "Adoration to Dharma, ... to Kṛṣṇa, ... to Bṛhaspati, ... to Indra" (MārkP. 8, 167 f.) to be of special consequence. But ViP. 3, 11, 67 the order intelligibly is *dhātā* (=*brahmā*) *prajāpatiḥ śakro vahniḥ* ... A king is called the equal of Indra and Viṣṇu : MārkP. 8, 32 *indropendratulyaḥ*. The dvandva compound of the two names—exhibiting the normal order of its components—occurs also in the Mbh. (6, 79, 55 cr. ed. *indropendrāv ivāmarau* ; 9, 33, 14). Although Viṣṇu's name Upendra does not occur in the Veda,[2] the idea which it expresses (that of Indra's younger brother) reflects the Vedic relation between both gods so that its use may here be regarded as traditional. In the Devīmāhātmya Indra occupies the last place in a series : MārkP. 85, 12 or 88, 12 "the energies (*śaktayaḥ*) from the bodies of Brahmā, Śiva, Guha, Viṣṇu and of Indra also", and in the detailed description which

1. Pāṇini 2, 2, 34, see W. Caland, A rhythmic law in language, Acta Orientalia (Leiden) 9, p. 59 ff.

2. AiU. 3, 24, 12 is no occurrence (otherwise Vedic Word Conc. V. V. R. I., Series I, p. 292).

follows this passage Indra's śakti (st. 20 *vajrahastā ...aindrī*) is the last after those of Brahmā, Maheśvara, Kumāra, Viṣṇu, Varāha, Narasiṃhā[1]; in st, 34 she is the fifth of seven. Cf. also 79, 13ff. or 82. 13 ff.

1. For details : Agrawala, o. c., p. 209 f.

THE RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF THE JANAPADA LISTS OF THE PURĀṆAS

By

M. R. Singh

[निबन्धेस्मिन् लेखकमहोदयाः प्राचीनपुराणसाहित्यस्य विषय-नाम-पाठसाम्यमादाय तद्गतविशिष्टभूगोलवर्णनस्यैतिहासिकदृष्ट्या बहुशः मीमांसां कुर्वन्ति। तदनुसारेण विविधपुराणानां वर्गविभागं रचनाकालनिर्णयं, तेषामापेक्षिकं पूर्वापरत्वं च सयुक्तिकं सप्रमाणं निर्धारयन्ति। विशेषतः 'जनपद' वर्णनमधिकृत्य पुराणानि पञ्चसु वर्गेषु विभज्य तेषां सम्पादनकालोऽपि सुविचारितः, तद्यथा—

प्रथमे मत्स्यवर्गे मत्स्यमार्कण्डेय-वामन-वायु-ब्रह्माण्डपुराणानां कालः खीष्टपूर्व द्वितीय शताब्दिरित्याकलितः। एतेषु 'महाराष्ट्र' 'हूण' 'कामरूप', 'पारसीक', शक, हूण—(शतद्रुज-शतद्रवो वा) नामानि समुपलभ्यन्ते, निर्दिशन्ति च सम्भावितकालान्तरपरिवर्तनम्। यथा 'हूण' शब्द 'ऊर्ण' शब्दस्य रूपान्तरमिति प्रतीयते। वर्गद्वितीयो ब्रह्मकूर्मविष्णुपुराणानाम् तस्य कालः पञ्चम शताब्दी। तृतीयश्च मार्कण्डेयपुराणगत 'कूर्म निवेश' खण्डगतः, निर्माणसमयश्च चतुर्थषष्ठशताब्दिमध्ये निर्धारितः। चतुर्थः वर्गः गरुडविष्णुधर्मोत्तरपुराणयोः षष्ठशताब्यर्वाक्कालिको वर्तते। अन्तिमे तु पद्मपुराण महाभारत (भीष्मपर्व) योः काश्मीर बल्लीकादीनि नामानि बहुशः अन्तर्भवन्ति कालश्च पञ्चशताब्दी।

लेखकममहोदयैरत्र 'जनपद' वर्णनद्वारा पूर्ववैदिककालापेक्षया पौराणिककाले भूगोलज्ञानसंवृद्धिरपि संकेतिताऽस्ति। समालोचितं च विधिवत् सुदूरदक्षिणभारतवर्षस्य सुपरिचयादिकमैतिहासिकं महत्त्वं परमप्राचीनत्वं च पुराणानाम् इति।]

The Indian literature, passing under the designation Purāṇa (meaning old or ancient) has come down to us in a very extensive form. It consists of eighteen Purāṇas and more than a hundred Upa-Purāṇas. That this literature is a result of interpolations made from time to time, is declared by some of the Purāṇas. They state that in the beginning, there was only one Purāṇa

which was produced by Brahmā before the Vedas issued from his mouths[1] :

पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृताः ॥
पुराणमेकमेवासीत् तदा कल्पान्तरेऽनघ ।
त्रिवर्गसाधनं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ॥

The justification of this statement lies in the fact that the Purāṇas preserve in them many traditions which come down from very early times and even from the pre-Vedic days.[2] "The Purāṇas are store-houses in which are collected the traditions of many bygone ages, stories and legends touching the sages that are interspersed throughout the Upaniṣads and Āraṇyakas are also amplified and embellished".[3]

Not only for this but also because of its references in the early Indian literature, the Purāṇa literature can claim to go back to a great antiquity[4] It is said that Dvaipāyana divided the single Veda into four and then with the tales (Ākhyānas), anecdotes (Upākhyānas), songs (Gāthās) and lore (Kalpajoktis), that had come down from the ages, he compiled the Purāṇa :[5]

आख्यानैश्चाप्युपाख्यानैर्गाथाभिः कल्पजोक्तिभिः ।
पुराणसंहितां चक्रे पुराणार्थ-विशारदः ॥

The Purāṇa Pañchalakṣaṇa, viz. (1) creation (Sarga), (2) recreation (Pratisarga), (3) genealogy (Vaṁśa of Gods and sages),

1. *Matasya*, 53. 3-4 ; 3. 3-4; *Vāyu*, 1. 60-1 ; *Brahmāṇḍa*, I, 1. 40 1 ; *Padma*, V. 1. 45-47 ; *Śiva*, V. 1. 27-28 ; or *Mārkaṇḍeya* 45. 20-1.
2. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (Punthi Pustak, Calcutta-4, 1961) Introduction, p. a.
3. *Kūrma Purāna* (Published by Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Introduction, p. XII.
4. See Pargiter, Ancient Indian Historical Traditions (Motilal Banarasidass, 1962) pp. 43-44 ; R. C Hazra, Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs (Published by the University of Dacca, Bulletin No XX) p. 1-4 ; Purāṇa, I No. 2, p. 218.
5. *Viṣṇu* III, 6. 7 ff ; *Vāyu*, 60. 12 ff ; *Brahmānda* II, 34, 12 ff. cf. Pargiter op. cit. pp. 50-51.

(4) comsmic cycles (Manvantaras), and (5) accounts of royal dynasties (Vaṁśānucharit), says R. C. Hazra, have their roots in these elements.[6] But in most of the extant Purāṇas, these characteristics are not easily deciferable and there are certain chapters in nearly all the Purāṇas which, however, cannot be placed under any of these Lakṣaṇas. For instance, these Laksaṇas cannot include the chapters on the Māhātmya of the Tīthas, on the Hindu rites and customs etc. On the other hand, on some topics, certain Purāṇas give word to word same account. In view of this fact the dates assigned to the different Purāṇas hardly solve real problem. For instance. the *Vāmana Purāṇa* is supposed to be a later Purāṇa. Does it mean that its geographical account of Bhāratavarṣa, which is the same as that of the *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Matsya* and *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57), deals with the geography of a later period ? Here one is bound to admit that its geographical account of Bhāratavarṣa BELONGS TO THE PERIOD WITH WHICH DEAL THE EARLY Purāṇas, containing the same account. While it is true that some Purāṇas contain more early materials than certain others, it is at least equally significant that many of them contain texts and portions which could be considered separately for the purpose of relative chronology. Thus without seeking to deny the chronological differences of some Purāṇic compilations taken as whole, it would appear to be a necessary as well as a useful task to work out the relative chronology of certain texts which cover common areas and may be found with some variations in many Purāṇas. These texts need to be analysed separately in the first instance. It is only later on that we may essay the task of fullfledged Purāṇic chronology. Some work on this line has been done by Hazra and Pargiter, the former has considered the chapter on Hindu rites and customs[7] and the latter on the genealogies.[8] A similar conside

6. R. C. Hazra, op. cit, p. 4. 7. Ibid.

8. Pargiter op. cit. and The Purāṇa texts of Dynastics of the Kali age (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit series office, Varanasi, 1962) See also D. R. Mankad, Puranic chronology (Gujerat, 1951). A similar work has been done by Prof. G. C. Pande, though not on the Purāṇas. He has stratified the Buddhist Nikayas (studies in the Origins of Buddhism, University of Allahabad, 1957, Chs. I-VIII.

ration for other chapters may furnish ground of the utilisation of the Purāṇa literature. In the following pages an attempt has been made to stratify the Purāṇa texts on the account of Bhāratavarṣa.

There are only eleven Purāṇas which have a Chapter on the geography of Bhāratavarṣa. They are: (1) *Vāyu* (I. 4. 5), (2) *Brahmāṇḍa* (I. 2. 16), (3) *Matsya* (113 or 114) (4) *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57 and 58), (5) *Vāmana* (13), (6) *Viṣṇu* (II. 3), (7) *Kūrma* (I. 47), (8) *Brahma* (17), (9) *Garuḍa* (55), (10) *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* (I. 9), (11) *Padma* (*Svargakhaṇḍa*, 6). Among these the first four and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57) have followed one draft. Similarly the draft of the *Viṣṇu* is the same which is found in the *Kūrma* and *Brahma*. The drafts of the *Garuḍa* and *Padma* are different and are not found in any other Purāṇa. The *Padma's* account is the same which is of the *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣma Parvan (9) and the *Garuḍa's* account has been followed by the *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* which is regarded to be out of the canons of eighteen Mahāpurāṇas. The account of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (58) is incorporated in the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*[9] and the *Pārāśara Tantra*.. Thus on the whole, we have five drafts, all dealing with the geography of India and it goes without saying that each of these was compiled by different hands.

The Janapadas, rivers and mountains referred to in these Purāṇas have to be placed all over Bhāratavarṣa. It evidently means that by the time of their compilation, the northerners had crossed the mountain Vindhyas and had penetrated into the southern Deccan right upto the tip of the southern Peninsula. Hence to suggest a date for the texts we have to know the time by which this exploration could have been done. This will be a lower limit. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, a work of the sixth century A. D., has a chapter on the Janapadas of India. Its list indicates that by this time the geographical knowledge had increased to a most satisfactory extent and it seems quite warranted to accept that the Janapada accounts of the Purāṇas in question belong to an earlier date.

It is well known that the geographical knowledge of the early Vedic literature is confined to the regions, lying to the

9. *Brhatsamhitā* (Ed. by Kern Bibliotheca India, 1865) ch. XIV.

north of the Vindhyas. It is only in the later Vedic literature that we find the references to a few peoples who can be located to the south of this mountain. The references to Vidarbha[10] and Niṣadha[11] found in the Brāhmaṇa literature have enabled Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhuri to conclude that by this time, the Aryans had penetrated into central India and southern Deccan.[12] But Pt. K. Chattopadhyay suggests otherwise. He says that the words, Vidarbha, Niṣadha etc. should be understood not as names of places but of the tribes.[13] The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* mentions the Āndhras, Śabaras, Pulindas and Puṇḍras as peoples living beyond the Āryandom.[14] The first three of these were undoubtedly the peoples living to the south of the Vindhyas.[15] However, there is no denying the fact that the extreme south was left unexplored by the Vedic Āryans. It is only in the fifth century B. C. that the exploration of the region lying upto the Godawari was completed. The Janapadas like Kamboja in the

10. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII. 34 ; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XIV. 5. 5. 22.
11. *Śatapatha Brāhmana* II. 3. 2. 1.
12. Political History of India (Sixth Edition) P. 40.
13. Pt. K. Chattopadhyay in I. C. III.
14. *Aitareya Brāhmana*, VIII. 18.
15. For the identification of the Andhras see, J. A. Vol. XLVII. p. 71 ; Ibid Vol. XLII. 1913 p. 281 ; G. Yazdani, The early History of Deccan Parts I-VI. (Oxford University Press London, 1960). p. 28 ; D. C. Ganguly, Eastern Chālukyas (Banaras, 1937) p. 1 ; D. C. Sircar Successors of the Satavāhanas (University of Calcutta, 1939) p. 2 ; D. R. Bhandarkar, Aśoka (Third Ed. 1955) p. 31.

For the identification of the Śabaras see, Cunningham. Ancient Geography of India (New Edition) pp. 583, 586 ; H. C. Ray Chaudhuri op. 93-94 J. A. H. R. S., Vol. XII. pp. 57 ff.

The Pulindas seem to have been a mountaineer tribe living in different parts of the Himalayas and the Vindhyas. The Purāṇas (*Brahmāṇḍa* II. 58 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya* 57.47 ; *Matsya* 113. 48 ; *Vāmana* 13. 47.50 ; *Vāyu* I. 45. 125 ; *Garuda*, 55. 12 ; *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* I. 9. 4 ; *Padma Svarga*, 6. 57 ; cf. Mbh. (Gitapress, XIII. 207-42) place the Pulindas in South India. cf. Mbh. II. 26. 10 ; II 31. 16. The *Matsya Purāṇa* (113. 41) mentions the Pulindas in Udīchya division and suggests a location for them on the banks of the river Hairaṇvatī which flowed in the Himalayan region (*Matsya* 116. 1-20 cf. *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* I. 184. 1-20). The *Mahābhārata* also locates the Pulindas in the Himalayan region (Mbh. III 140. 25).

north, Sauvīra in the west, Aśmaka in the south, Kaliṅga in the south-east and Sūramas in the east, all being mentioned in the the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* mark the extreme points of our geographical knowledge in this period.[16] The geographical names occurring in the early Buddhist literature do not suggest any change in this geographical horizon. The list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas as given in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*[17] and the Jain *Bhagavatī Sūtra*,[18] perhaps mark the extreme points of our geographical knowledge atleast upto the beginning of the third century B. C.

By the close of the fourth century B. C. we find some further development. Magasthenes, who visited India in this period refers to the country of the Pāṇḍyas, situated in the northern-most part of Peninsular India.[19] The references to the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas and Keralas are also met within the epics[20], but their dates have not yet been decided in all their details. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya refers to a kind of pearl called Pāṇḍyakavāṭa which was produced in the Pāṇḍya country.[21] Reference to this name is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* which has Kavāṭam Pāṇḍyānām instead of Pāṇḍyakavāṭa.[22]

ततो हेममयं दिव्यं मुक्तामणिविभूषितम् ।
युक्तं कवाटं पाण्ड्यानाम् गता द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः ।।

It has been suggested that Kavāṭa referred to here is Kavaṭapura, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyas, identified with Korkai of the Tamil literature.[23] The first datable reference to

16. V. S. Agrawal, India as known to Pāṇini (Lucknow University, 1954) p. 34.
17. *Anguetara Nikāya* (P. T. C.) I. 213; IV. 252, 256, 260.
18. J. C. Jain, Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons (Bombay, 1947) p. 251.
19. J. W. MC. Crindle, Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian (Revised Second Edition, R. C. Majnmdar 1960) p. 163.
20. *Rāmāyaṇa Kisk.* 41. 12-19; Mbh. VI. 9. 44; VI. 50. 51; VII. 11. 17; VIII. 12. 15; Mbh. II. 31. 16-17; 31. 71. etc.
21. *Arthaśāstra* (English translation by R. Shamasastry, Mysore, Sixth Ed.) pp. 75-76.
22. *Rāmāyana Kisk.* 41. 18-19.
23. I. C., J. p. 249.

the country of the Keralas and the Cholas is found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, who, according to the accepted chronology reigned from C. 273 B. C. to 236 B. C.[24] This may be taken to be the earliest date for the compilation of the Janapada lists of the Purāṇas. In order to consider the fulfledged chronology we should consider the antiquity of a few more names which are mentioned in the Purāṇas, but not in other early literature or epigraphs. These names are Mahārāṣṭra, Kāmarūpa, Pārasīka, Śaka and Hūṇa.

Mahārāṣṭra :—The earliest reference to Mahārāṣṭra is found in the *Maṇimekalai*, a work of the 4th century A. D.[25] This name is not mentioned in either of the epics. However if the account of the third Buddhist council is to be believed, one may suggest that Mahārāṣṭra was a known country during the times of Aśoka.[26] According to the Jain tradition, Mahārāṣṭra was known during the time of Sampai (Samprati) son of Aśoka.[27] Some scholars have suggested that the Rāṣṭriyas of the Aśoka's inscriptions were a people of Mahārāṣṭra.[28] But a passage of the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* suggests that the Rāṣṭrīyas and the Mahārāṣṭras were two different peoples.[29]

Pārasīkas—They are mentioned in the *Raghuvaṁśa*,[30] *Mahābhārata Bhīṣma Parvan*,[31] *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*[32] (a work of the fifth century A. D.) and *Gauḍavaho* (a work of the eighth century A. D.)[33]

Kāmarūpa—It is mentioned in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa.[34]

24. C. I. I., I pp. 25, 28, 70, 83.
25. Siddha Bharati, Pt. II p. 285.
26. *Mahāvaṁśa*. XII. 5. 37
27. J. C. Jain, op. cit., p. 266.
28. R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Dekkan, (Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1957) p. 20 ; G. S. Saradesai. New History of the Marathas (1957) Vol. I p. 17.
29. *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa Gaṇapatikhaṇḍa*, 35. 12-13.
30. *Raghuvaṁśa* IV
31. Mbh, VI. 10. 51.
32. *Mudrā-Rāksasa* I, V. No. 20.
33. D. C. Sircar, Studies in the Geography of Anct. and Mediaeval India (Motilal Banarasidass) p. 38.
34. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 83-84.

Most of the scholars believe that the poet lived in the fifth century A. D.,[35] while some have suggested earlier[36] or later[37] dates. Kālidāsa mentions the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu or the Oxus.[38] It is generally believed that the Hūṇas had not reached the oxus before 400 A.D.[39] The names 'Kāmarūpa' and 'Pārasīkas' found in the *Raghuvaṁśa* are not found as such in Indian Literature or Inscriptions before the 4th century A. D.[40] although Achaemenids and Parthians had ruled over parts of north-west and the region from Persia to Assam was known. These facts create some doubt about the theories which place Kālidāsa earlier than the 4th century A. D. The first datable reference to Kāmarūpa is found in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta, who ruled from 321 A D. to 375 A. D.[41]

Śakas—The people known as Śakas in Indian literature[42]

35. A. B Keith, A History of Sanskrit Literature (Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 82 ; R. G. Bhandarkar, J. B. O. R S., Vol. XX. p. 399 ; Vincent A. Smith, Early History of India (Fourth Edition, Oxford, 1924) p. 321 Bhagawat Saran Upadhyaya, India in Kālidāsa (Kitabistan Allahabad, 1947) Appendix A.

36. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, (A. B. OR. I., 1920 pp. 63-68) and Pt. K. Chattopadhyaya (The date of Kālidāsa) place the poet in the first century B. C. Vaidya's arguments have been sought to be answered by K. G. Sankar (A. B. O. R. I., 1920 pp, 189 ff) The views of Pt. Chattopadhyaya have been considered by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (Kālidāsa, Hindi Edition, pp. 14 ff) and Sri Bhagawat Saran Upadhyaya (Op. cit. Appendix A.)

37. M. M. Hara Prasad Shastri (J. B. O. R. S., 1916 pp. 31 ff) and D. R. Bhandarkar (A. B. O. R. I., 1927 Vol. VIII. pp. 230-4) make Kālidāsa a contemporary of Yaśodharman. This view has been controverted by A. B. Keith (J. R. A. S., 1909 pp. 433 ff) and B, C. Majumdar (J. R. S. S., 1909 pp. 731 ff, J. B. O. R. S., 1916, pp 389 ff).

38. *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 67-68.

39. See infra under Hūṇas.

40. See infra under Hūṇas and Pārasīkas.

41. C. I. I., III 1.

42. The earliest Indian reference to the Śakas is found in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (India in the time of Patañjali, pp. 59-60), a work of the second century B. C. where it is stated that they and the Yavanas were Anirovasita Śūdra. In the *Manusmṛti* (x. 44) these two peoples along with the Pārdas and the Pahlavas are regarded as degraded

are the Śakas of Persian inscriptions.[43] They were the Skuthoi of the Greek writers and Ashkuzai of the Assyrians.[44] The Persian inscriptions, says Prof. Bagchi, locate the Śakas near Gāndhāra and therefore make it clear that the Śakas were living near the frontiers of India before the Greeks had come to that region,[45] Śaka kings were ruling in Taxila in the first century B. C.[46]

Hūṇas—The people of this name of Indian literature[47] were a branch of the High-nu, a nomadic tribe of central Asia.[48] They were known to the Chinese as Yetha, to the classical writers as

Kṣatriyas. Similarly, in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 65. 13-15 ; XIII. 33. 21), the Śakas, Yavanas, Kirātas, Gāndhāras, Chīnas, Śabaras, Barbaras, Tuṣāras, Kaṅkas and Pahlavas are said to be Dasyus and Viṣayavāsins. In a number of the epic verses the Śakas have been associated with the Yavanas, Pahlavas, Daradas, Hārahūṇas, Kambojas. Tusaras and other tribes of the northwest (Mbh. I. 174. 36-38 ; II 32. 12-16 ; 51. 23 ; 52. 16 ; III 51. 24-25 ; VI. 20-13 ; 57. 7 ; 75-21 ; VII. 7. 17-18 ; 93. 92 ; 119. 15 ; 121.13 ; VIII. 8. 18 ; 56. 115 ; 73. 19 ; 88. 17; IX. 1. 37 etc.). In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kiṣk* 43. 12) Sugriva figures as directing the monkeys to go to the lands of the Kambojas, Yavanas, Śakas and Varadas (Pāradas ?).

43. D C. Sircar Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and civilization (Calcutta University 1942) Vol. I. pp. 6-7.

44. P. C. Bagchi, India and Central Asia (National Council of Education; Bengal. Calcutta, 1955) p. 1.

45. Ibid. p. 121.

46. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, Early History of North India (Calcutta, 1958) p. 57. The Age of imperial Unity. p. 127.

47. The *Mahābhārata* locates the Hūṇas along with the Chīnas to the north of Āryāvarta (Mbh. XII. 3 2.5 of Ibid. VI. 9.66). At another place also it associates them with the Chīnas (Mbh. I. 174-38). It also refers to the Hārahūṇas (Mbh. III. 51.25)) who were probably a branch of the Hūṇas. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 67-68) Raghu figures as defeating the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu or the Oxus.

48. D. C. Sircar, op. cit, p. 315 n 1 ; A New History of Indian people, Vol. VI. p. 177 ff ; R. S. Tripathi, History of Ancient India (Motilal Banarasidasa, 1960) p. 279. S. Chattopadhyaya (op. cit, p. 191) says that the Hūṇas who figure in Indian History were Ephthalites and not a branch of the Hing-nu tribe. The suggestion does not appear to be very convincing for the Indian name Hūṇa can only be derived from Hing-nu or any such other name and not from Ephthalites, Hythal or Yetha,

Ephthalites or white Hūṇas and to the Persians as Hythal.[49] In the fifth century A. D. they appear in the country of the Oxus.[50] From this region they carried their conquests down to Gāndhāra and beyond the Indus in the south, and as far as Khotan and Karashahr in the east.[51] In A. D. 424, they crossed the Oxus, and, according to the Persian chroniclers the news of their inroads caused a widespread panic.[52] This time Behram Gur was on the throne of Persia. He defeated them and to complete his victory, he followed up the enemy across the Oxus, defeated them again and compelled them to sue for peace.[53] Now onwards the Hūṇas made repeated attempts to capture Persia and to enter India. The Bhitari inscription of Skanda Gupta indicates that during his time (445 A. D. to 467 A. D.) they made an unsuccessful bid to have an empire within India.[54] In the beginning of the fifth century A. D., they were settled on the Indian border as we learn from the account of Orosius.[55] Before 520 A. D., they had captured the province of Gāndhāra as we learn from the account of the Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun.[56]

On the basis of the discussion, made above, we may now consider the chronology of the Janapada lists of the Purāṇas :—

I. The Janapada list of the *Matsya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vāmana, Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*—These Purāṇas, as stated earlier follow one draft which seems to have originally been compiled in the *Matsya Purāṇa* which does not mention the Mahārāṣṭras, Hūṇas,

49. P. C. Bagchi, op. cit, p. 136; S. K. Aiyangar, Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture, Poona Oriental Series, No. 74, Vol. I, p. 68; S. Chattopadhyaya op. cit, pp. 181-182; Brigadier General Sir Percy Syke, A history of Persia, Vol. I. (London. 1938) p. 433.
50. J.J. Modi, Early History of the Hūṇas and their inroads in India and Parsia, pp. 566-67.
51. Stein, Ancient Khotan, ch. III p. 58.
52. Sir Percy Syke, op. cit, p. 433.
53. Ibid. p. 434.
54. C. I. I., III, p. 52.
55. P.C. Bagchi, op. cit, p. 137; S. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 192.
56. S. Beal, Budchist Records of the Western World. (new Edition, Calcutta, 1957) IV. p. 67.

Kāmarūpa, Pārasīkas or any other name which may indicate that the draft was compiled after the second century B. C. It mentions the Śakas[57] who, as we have seen, were living near Gāndhāra prior to the time when Greeks came in India, Patañjali's *Mahābhāsya* mentions the Śakas in such a way as if they were mixed in Indian society in the second century B. C.[58] R. D. Banarjee has remarked, "Śaka infiltration into the extreme north-western borders of India some considerable time before the beginning of the Christian era is exteremely likely—perhaps oven when the Bactrian Greeks were ruling in these regions".[59] Moreover, there is an edition of the *Matsya Purāṇa* which even does not mention the Śakas.[60] The other Purāṇas which mention the Śakas are *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*.[61] A comparision of the readings of these Purāṇas with that of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāmana* indicates that the placement of the Śakas is a result of interpolation and the original reading was Śatadujas or Śatadrujas or Śatadravas :

Vāyu	*Brahmāṇḍa*	*Mārkaṇḍeya*	*Matsya*	*Vāmana*
45.116	I.2.16.48	57.37 ff	113.41 ff	13.39 ff
Śakāhradas[62]	Śakas, Hūṇas[64]	Śatadujas	Śakadru-	Śatadra-
Sakadṛihāla[63]	Śakas, Bhadras[65]		hyas	vas

These names seem to suggest that there should be only one name and the reading Śakas-Hūṇas may be taken to be a mistake. There is a long gap of time between the end of the Śaka sovereignty and the advent of the Hūṇas and the mention of both the people in a single appellation cannot be accounted for on the historical ground. It is probable that the original reading was Śatadrujas or Śatadravas and a

57. *Matsya* 113.41

58. *Sapra* N. 42.
Comprehensive History of India, Vol. I. p. 189.
Anandasram Ed. ch. 113,
Vāyu, I. 45.116 ; *Brahmāṇḍa* I. 2.16.48.
Bangavāsi office Calcutta and Srivenkateshwar Press Editions.
Alberuni's India, First Indian Reprint, S. Chand & Co. 1964, pp. 290-300.

4. Bangavāsi office Calcutta ed.

5. Srivenkateshwar Press Ed.

little carelessness of the copyists changed the letter 'ta' into 'ka', thereby the name became unexplainable to the Paurāṇikas. Accordingly the author of the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* changed it into Śaka-Hūṇas, sometimes after the 4th century A.D. The fact that corruptions lead from less known towards well known when applied in restoring this name furnishes us with the same result. But this conclusion has to be checked by another name i e. Mahārāṣṭra. This name finds mention in the *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Vāmana*.[66] At the same place the *Matsya Purāṇa* reads Navarāṣṭra.[67] Here one can not support the reading of the *Matsya* against the unanimous reading of the four Purāṇas. Though the actual reference to Mahārāṣṭra is not found before the fourth century A. D., yet there is every possibility that Mahārāṣṭra was a known country during the time of Aśoka, not only because that the Buddhist and Jain traditions suggest this but also because that the inscriptions of Aśoka refer to the countries lying to the south of Mahārāṣṭra.

Thus it seems fairly warranted to hold that the original draft of these Purāṇas belongs to the secoud century B.C. It was revised for the first time in the fifth century A.D. when the Hūṇas were included in the list. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* mention the Hūṇas in the Parvatāśrayin division.[68] At the same place the other Purāṇas and one edition of the *Brahmāṇḍa* read Ūrṇas.[69] The Ūrṇas are also mentioned in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*[70], and it is just probable that the original reading was Ūrṇa which became Hūṇa after the fourth century A. D, The *Brahmāṇḍa* mentions the Hūṇas also in Udīchya division.[71]

II. The version of the *Brahma, Kūrma* and *Viṣṇu* Purāṇas—

These Purāṇas give a very short list and hardly mention more than 25 names. These Purāṇas, without any hint of inter-

66. *Vāyu* I, 45.125; *Brahmāṇḍa* I, 2, 16.57; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 57.46, *Vāmana* 13.48.
67. *Matsya*, 113.47.
68. *Vāyu*, 45.135 ff.; *Brahmāṇḍa* (Bangavāsi office Calcutta Ed.) I, 2.16.67 ff., *Mārkaṇḍeya*
69. *Brahmāṇḍa* (Venkateshwar Press Ed.) I, 2. 16. 67 ff., *Mārkaṇḍeya* 57. 56 ff; *Matsya* 113. 55 ff; *Vāmana* 13. 57 ff.
70. V. S. Agrawal, op. cit, p. 69-70.
71. *Brahmāṇḍa* I, 2. 16. 48.

polation mention the Hūṇas, Pārasīkas and Kāmarūpa.[72] Hence it is quite evident that their account belongs to the fifth century A. D., for as we have seen these names were unknown before this period.

III. Kūrma-Niveśa section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa.*

In this section Bhāratavarṣa is supposed to be shaped like a tortoise.[73] One such composition is included in the *Atharvaparišiṣṭa* another in the *Parāśara Tantra* and a third in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā.*[74] The Kūrma-Vibhāga, says H. C. Raychaudhuri, cannot in all probability be assigned to a date earlier than the fourth century A. D. This inference follows from the reference to Kāmarūpa in the *Atharvaparišiṣṭa*, to Vardhamāna and to Mahārāṣṭra in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* which are unknown to literature or inscription of an earlier date.[75] The references to Koṅkaṇa, Karnāta and Hūṇa found in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* also support this conclusion.[76]

IV. The version of the *Garuḍa* and *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara.*

Like the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (58) and the *Brhatsaṁhitā* (XIV), these Purāṇas mention the Janapadas in nine divisions, viz., Madhyadeśa, Pūrva-deśa, Pūrva-Dakṣiṇa, Dakṣiṇā-Patha, Dakṣiṇa-Paścima, Paścima, Uttara-Paścima, Udīchī and Pūrva-Uttara.[77] Like the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, these Purāṇas locate the Ambaṣṭhas, Dravidas, Kambojas, Strīmukhas and the Ānarttas in the South-west ;[78] the Kaliṅgas, Vangas, Pundras, Angas, Vidarbhas and the Vindhyavāsins in the south-east ;[79] the

72. *Viṣṇu*, II. 3, 15-17 ; *Brahma*, 17. 15-18 ; *Kūrma*, I. 47. 41-44.

73. *Mārkandeya*, 58.

74. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities, (Second Edition, 1958), p. 48.

75. Ibid. p. 49.

76. *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 58. 21-23, 45.

77. *Garuḍa*, 55. 10 18 ; *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara*, I. 9. 2-10.

78. *Garuda*, 55. 14 ; *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara*, I. 9. 6 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 58. 30-32; *Brhatsamhitā*, XIV. 17-19.

79. *Garuda*, 55. 12 ; *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara*, I. 9. 4 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 58, 16-18; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 8-10.

Karṇātas in the south ;[80] the Vṛṣadarbhas, Pādmas, Māgandhas, Suhmas, Kāśayas and Kośalas in the east ;[81] and the Abhisāras, Kaśmīras, Trigarthas and Kulūtas in the north-east.[82] These facts indicate that the Janapada account of the *Garuda* and the *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* is either a summarised form of the account of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* or that the account of the latter texts is borrowed from the former texts and it was made comprehensive by adding more names. But as the account of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* is according to the astrological plan of dividing India into nine parts it may be suggested that the borrowers were the *Garuḍa* and the *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara*.

V. The account of the *Padma* and the *Mahābhārata*

Bhīṣma Parvan—Since both the lists are practically one and the same, one cannot say whether the list was originally compiled in the *Mahābhārata* or the *Padma Purāṇa*.[83] However, the list in its present form has the bearings of its being revised at least two times. This inference follows from the double references to Vidarbhas,[84] Videhas,[85] Aṅgas,[86] Kaśmīras,[87] Bāhlīkas,[88] Śakas[89] etc. The account of both the texts cannot be dated earlier than the 4th century A. D. This inference is brought out clearly from the mention of the Hūṇas along with the Pārasīkas in the list.[90]

Now we may conclude that :

(1) The original draft of the texts of the *Matsya* group was compiled in the 2nd century B. C. ;

80. *Garuḍa*, 55, 13 ; *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara*, I. 9, 5 ; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 11-16 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 58. 20-28.
81. *Garuda*, 55. 11 ; *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara*, I. 9. 3 ; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 5-7 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 58. 11-14.
82. *Garuḍa*, 55. 18 ; *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara*, I. 9. 10 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*, 58. 48-52 ; *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIV. 29-31.
83. *Padma*, *Svargakhaṇḍa*, 6. Mbh., VI. 9.
84. *Padma*, *Svargakhaṇḍa*, 6.38 & 59 ; Mbh. VI. 9.43 & 64.
85. Ibid. 6.40 and 52 ; Mbh. VI. 9.45 and 57.
86. Ibid. 6.41 & 45 ; Mbh. VI. 9.46 & 50.
87. Ibid. 6.48 & 62. Mbh. VI. 9.53 & 67.
88. Ibid. 6.42 & 49 ; Mbh. VI. 9.47 & 54.
89. Ibid. 6.40 & 46 ; Mbh. VI. 9.45 & 51.
90. Ibid. 6.61 ; Mbh. VI. 9.66.

(2) The version of the *Viṣṇu*, *Kūrma* and *Brahma* was compiled ind 5th century A. D. ;

(3) The Kūrma-Niveśa section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* belongs to 400 A. D. to 600 A. D. ;

(4) The account of the *Garuḍa* and *Viṣṇu-Dharmottara* was borrowed from that of the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* sometimes after the 6th century A. D.

(5) The text of the *Padma* and the *Mahābhārata* was compiled in the fifth century A, D.

TWO PAURAṆIC SITES OF VIDARBHA

By

D. P. Dikshit

[अधिकतरेषु पुराणेषु प्रख्यातभौगोलिकस्थलानां प्रदेशविशेषाणां प्रसिद्धक्षेत्राणां वा परिचयात्मकं वर्णनं समुल्लेखश्चोपलभ्यते। एतदेवास्मिन् लघुतमे लेखे विचारितं वर्तते। अतिसंक्षेपेणात्र लेखकमहोदयेन 'गणेशोप-पुराणे उपवर्णितयोः विदर्भमहाराष्ट्रयोः चर्चा कृता। विदेशतः विदर्भ-प्रदेशस्य सांस्कृतिकपुनर्निर्माणोद्देश्येन स्पष्टतरं परिचयात्मकं चित्रं प्रकाशितं वर्तते। वर्तमाननागपुरमण्डलान्तर्गत 'सावनेर' क्षेत्रे 'आदासा (सोनापुर) ग्रामस्य प्राचीन विदर्भस्थदोषापुरेण, कलम् (कलम्ब) पुरस्य च कदम्बपुरेण (चिन्तामणि क्षेत्रेण) पूर्णतादात्म्यं गणेशपुराणस्य लोके प्रचलितप्रवादानां च साध्याधारेण स्थापितमस्ति। वामनेन तपश्चरितं, षडक्षरमन्त्रेण गणेशः आराधितः, गणेश-मन्दिरं विनिर्मितं ; सर्वमेतत् पुराणवर्णनं सत्यं प्रतिभाति। विदर्भस्य मन्दिर-मद्यापि लतावृक्षादियुक्तं आदासपर्वतेषु देवी-भैरव-मारुति-त्र्यम्बकादिमन्दिरैः सार्धं विराजते। मन्दिरस्य यादवकाले निर्मितिः संजाता, ततोऽपि पूर्वं वेति सम्भाव्यते। गणेशस्य विघ्ननाथस्य विदर्भदेशे प्राचुर्येण पूजाप्रचारः गुप्तकाल-पूर्वत एवासीदिति सुविचारितमस्ति। चिन्तामणिक्षेत्रस्य च स्थितिः गणेशपुराण-रचनाकाले आसीदिति नास्त्यत्र सन्देहलेशोऽपि। कलम्बपुरस्थकुण्डप्रवाहो जातोऽर्वाक्काले एवैतदपि विचारितं वर्तते। स्थानीयजनेषु दन्तकथया प्रचलति यत् वर्तमानगणपतिमूर्तिः पूर्वं काश्मीरप्रस्तरजातां मूर्तिमाच्छादयति। सामञ्जस्येन वर्णनमेतत् पुराणोल्लेखमनुवदतीति सर्वं साधु निरूपितमस्ति।]

In the Pauranic Literature of India,—Upapurāṇas claim a considerable number. Majority of them are regional and describe their respective regions in detail. Gaṇēśa Purāṇa, an Upapurāṇa, is peculiar to Mahārāshṭra and Vidarbha. It mentions many places of considerable importance in the above mentioned regions and thus helps to reconstruct the cultural and religious annals of Vidarbha and Mahārāshṭra. I propose to discuss references to two ancient towns of Vidarbha in this small article.

(1) Adöshapura or Adöshakshetra.

Gaṇēśa Purāṇa[1] which deals with the sect of Ganapati

1. Gaṇeśa Purāṇa (Modavrittakāra Edition).

the lord of Siddhi and Vighna, mentions many places related to the worship of this deity. Gaṇapati claims a good number of devotees in this region. The antiquity of Gaṇēśa Worship is a matter of controversy, going on since long among scholars. Some say it was prevelent in Pre-Gupta period and others hold the view that it developed in post-Gupta period.[2] But the recent researches as well as other evidences claim to assign it a date in the 2nd Century A. D.[3]. However, there are many localities which are counted among the sacred places connected with lord Vighnesha and are situated in Vidarbha.

In Chapter 31 (Kṛidākhaṇḍa) of Gaṇēs'a Purāṇa', we are informed that Bhagawān Vāmana visited Vidarbha and selected a site for performing penances which was full of several herbs and trees and was also beautified with tanks.

भ्रमता ददृशे तेन विदर्भे स्थानमुत्तमम् ।
लतावृक्षसमाकीर्णं कासारपरिशोभितम् ॥

In the same context, it is narrated that Bhagvān Vāmana performed penances there and worshipped Gaṇēśa, chanting Shaḍakshara mantra, keeping fast for a year.

तत्र पद्मासनं कृत्वा जजाप तं मनुं शुभम् ।
षडक्षरं वर्षमात्रं निराहारो जितेन्द्रियः ॥[5]

Vināyaka was pleased with Vāmana and appeared there and bestowed boons on him that no one should be able to defeat him and he may be able to save Indra whose kingdom was threatened by Bali the king of Asuras. After this Vāmana established, at the above mentioned place of Vidarbha an image of Gaṇapati

2. Please see a few recent articles. Shembawaṇekar K. M., Nava-Bharata (Marāthī), September. 1964, Pages 26-35. Mirashi V. V. Nava-Bharata (Marāṭhī), Jan., 1965, Pages 18-23 & Feb., 1965, Pages 10-12. Deshmukh, R.R., Nava-Bharata (Marāthī), Feb. 1965, p. 1-9.
3. Dutta K. K., I. H. C., Session, 1959, Pages 150.
4. G. P. (Krīḍākhaṇḍa), Ch. XXXI V-7, Page 118.
5. G. P. do do V-8, Page 118.

fashioned from Kashmīrī Stone having 4 hands, three eyes and *trunk*.[6]

There Vāmana constructed a temple with pearl and gold and giving a village to a Brāhmaṇa arranged the worship of the deity three times a day and went to his home and then the famous episode of Vāmana and Bali is narrated.

प्रासादं कारयामास रत्नकाञ्चननिर्मितम् ।[7]

In this way Vāmana saved Indra as well as his kingdom. Now the place where Vāmana worshipped Gaṇēśa before going to beg the land sufficient to take three steps is mentioned as Adōshapura which was in Vidarbha.

अदोषाख्ये पुरे तेन स्थापितस्य महात्मना ।
दशबाहोः प्रसिद्धस्य देव दक्षिणभागतः ॥[8]

Now Adōshapura being in Vidarbha can be safely identified with modern Ādāsā (Ādāsā Sōnapura) a village in Sāvanēra Tahsil of Nāgpur Distt. and situated at a distance of about 24 miles by road from Nāgpur. On a visit there was found an ancient temple of Vakratuṇḍa Gaṇapati along with the temples of Dēvī Bhairava—Mārutī and Tryambakeśvara on the hills at Ādāsā. All built in rough Hēmāḍpantī style and can be safely assigned to early yādava period.[9]

Local people narrate that the present image of Gaṇapati hides another small image of Gaṇapati made of Kashmīrī Stone—which plainly corroborates the statement of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa. The presence of seven old tanks—locally called tīrthas, its hilly position

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6. "काश्मीरोपलजां सोऽथ स्थापयन्मूर्त्तिमुत्तमाम् ॥ V. 21-
चतुर्भुजां त्रिनयनां शुण्डादण्डविराजितम् ।" V. 22.
G. P. (Krīḍākhaṇḍa), Ch. XXXI. V. 21-22 Page 120.
7. G. P. do do 23 Page 120.
8. G. P. do do 48 Page 122.
9. N. U. J. Vol. XVII. No. 1, Page 26 (Nagpur University Journal).

and surrounding herbs and trees on the hill reflect the grandeur of the site and support the statement of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa.

लतावृक्षसमाकीर्णं कासारपरिशोभितम् ॥[10]

Henry Cousens also describes the temples of Ādāsā in short and says "that this part of the country was in old times called Vidarbhadēśa and the present locality—Adāsākshētra".[11] It appears that Cousens' Adāsākshētra stands for Adōshakshēttra or Adōshapura of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa. Moreover the present term Ādāsā appears to be corruption of Sanskrit term Adōsha. The temples of Ādāsā are referred to in Nāgpur Distt. Gazetteer'.[12] The Imperial Gazetteer of India also makes a passing reference to the temples of Ādāsā.[13] Even to-day many people from surrounding region come everyday to pay homage to Lord Vighnēśa here and regard it as one of the tīrthas related to Gaṇēśa.

We do not find any inscription at Ādāsā; therefore it is not possible to give a definite date to the Site. But on the basis of architecture of the temples there and other remains roughly it can be assigned early Yādava period. Though the mention of Ādāsā in Gaṇēśa Purāṇa as a place visited and selected by Bhagvān Vāmana demands an earlier date.[14]

However, what has been said above, indicates the ancientness of the site and reflects that for a very long period this place had been a place of veneration for the people of Vidarbha.

KADAMBA NAGARA OR CHINTĀMAṆI NAGARA

In chapters 30 to 33 of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa[15] we come across the famous episode of Ahilyā, the wife of Ṛishi Gautama, and Indra, with the result that Indra was cursed to have 1000 Bhagas on his face. Due to shame and fear he took the shelter in the leaves of she-lotuses in a tank, at the request of all the Ṛishis Gautam was satisfied and advised Indra to worship Gaṇēśa by

10. G. P. (Krīdākhaṇḍa) Ch. XXXI, V. 7, Page 118.
11. Cousens' List of Antiquarian Remains C. P. and Berar Page 1.
12. Page 308 (Pub. 1908).
13. Vol. XVIII (N. Ed.) P. 308
14. N. U. J. Vol XVII No. 1, Page 37.
15. Upāsanā Khaṇḍa, Pages 96 to 106.

chanting Shaḍakshara-mantra. Indra performed penances at a place under a Kadamba tree for 1000 years and Vināyaka was pleased at last and appeared at the same place. Then Indra recovered his godly body and 1000 eyes and demanded the boon along with others that this Kadambanagara where he was penancing shall be known as Chintāmaṇinagara.

अन्यमेकं वरं याचे यतस्त्वः चिन्तितार्थदः ।
इदं कदम्बनगरं चिन्तामणिपुरत्विति ॥[16]

Lord Vināyaka granted him all the boons and bestowed on him his lost position and also stated that who ever would bath in the tank (where Indra was biding) at Kadambanagara will be relieved of all his troubles. Saying this Gaṇēśa disappeared and Indra there established a godly and well-featured crystal image of Gajānana and constructed a good temple with pearl and gold and went to his abode.[17]

आविर्भावेन ते कार्यं सर्वं संपादयेऽनिशम् ।
इदं चिन्तामणिपुर ख्यातं भुवि भविष्यति ॥
कदम्बपुरमित्येत्तत्तीर्थं चिन्तामणीति च ।
अत्र स्नानेन सर्वेषां सिद्धयोऽपिकरे स्थिताः ॥
चिन्तितं च प्रदास्यामि चिन्तामणि विनायकः ।[18]

In the same narration it also states that the same Chintāmaṇi Sarōvara is famous on the earth. The Ganges even to-day comes to get the image of Lord Chintāmaṇi bathed here on the orders of Indra.

तदेतद्भुवि विख्यातं चिन्तामणि सरो महत् ॥
अद्यापि सा शुभजला गंगा शक्रस्य शासनात् ।
कृत्वाऽभिषेकं तन्मूर्त्तौ याति स्वधाम सर्वदा ॥[19]

16. G. P. Upāsanā khaṇḍa ch. XXXIV. V. 25, page 108.
17. do do ch. XXXIV, V. 37 = 38. page 109.
18. do do ch. do V. 33-34-35, page 109.
19. do do ch. do V. 39-40 page 109.

This Chintāmaṇi tirtha has also been called Gaṇēs'a tirtha. It has been referred to as Chintāmaṇikshētra at two other places in the Purāṇa.

दृष्टवा तीर्थं गणेशाख्यं दिव्य देहो बभौ नृपः ॥[20]
ग्राम्याणां सर्वलोकानां चक्रे स्नान विधिं नृपः ।
चिन्तामणि क्षेत्रं गतं तीर्थे गणेश संज्ञके ॥[21]
चिन्तामणि क्षेत्रगतं महात्म्यं तीर्थं संभवम् ।[22]

Gaṇēśa Purāṇa places Kadambanagara in Vidarbha.[23] There is a place named Kalam or Kaḷamba in the Yeotmāl Taluka and Distt. It is about 14 miles from the Distt. head quarter. This place is considered sacred by the devotees of Gaṇēśa of the surrounding region and regarded as an ancient centre of Gaṇēśa Worship. The manuscript (Pothī) of Kaḷamba or Kalamba mahātmya calls it Kadambanagara in Chintāmaṇi-kshētra and describes the Sarōvara Chintāmaṇi. Gaṇēśa Purāṇa also deals with all the above mentioned details and associates the site with Indra's worship of Gaṇēśa. The above mentioned manuscript also says that the temple at Kaḷamba was established by Indra with all the details of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa about the Kuṇḍa (Pond).

Taking all the legends of Mahātmya and local traditions as well as statements of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa into consideration it appears quite probable that present Kaḷamba is identical with ancient Kadambanagara or Chintāmaṇinagara. Even to-day there exists an under ground temple at Kaḷamba or Kalam having an inage of Gaṇapati, locally known as Chintāmaṇi. There is also a Kuṇḍa in front of the image of Chintāmaṇi. It is said that it gets over-flooded at its own and the whole temple is submerged into the water. Local people confirm this myth to the best of their

20. do do ch. XXXV. V. 15 page 111.
21. do do ch. XXXV. V. 39 page 113.
22. do do ch. XXXV. V. V. 47 page 113.
23. "विदर्भे नगरं ख्यातं कदम्बमिति संज्ञया" ।
G. P. Upāsanākhaṇḍa ch. XXIX V. 11. Page 94.

confidence. My friend Shri M. S. Wabgaonkar[24] informed me that he witnessed in person this act of overflooding of Kuṇḍa at its own in 1955-56. This clearly confirms the statements of the Gaṇēśa Purāṇa.

Henry Cousens also writes in his List of Antiquarian Remains of C. P. and Bērar that "It (Kalam) has an underground temple dedicated to Chintāmaṇ."[25] Therefore the Chintāmaṇi of local traditions and Chintāmaṇi Vināyaka of Chintāmaṇikshēṭra, Kadambanagara of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa and Chintāmaṇ of Cousens stand for the same deity enshrined in a small temple at Kaḷamba. The Gazetteer of Yeotmal Distt.[26] also refers to this site as well as god Chintāmaṇi.

It follows from the above discussion that the present Kalam or Kaḷamba is definitely old Kadambapura or Chintāmaṇinagara where Indra worshipped lord Gaṇēśa.

No inscription from this place has come to light upto now; so it is difficult to give a definite date to the site. But its mention in the Gaṇēśa Purāṇa indicates that it was in existence prior to the composition of the said purāṇa. Dr. R. C. Hazra has fixed the date of Gaṇēśa Purāṇa, on the basis of its contents, beween 1100 A. D. to 1400 A. D.[27] Though Mr. J. N. Farquhar places it between 900 A. D. to 1350 A. D.[28] Therefore, safely, we can place the antiquity of the site between 800 A. D. to 1000 A. D.

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24 A lecturer in Marathi Deptt. of Nagpur University. I am thankful to him for the help received.

25. Page 86.

56. Page 217-218.

27. Jour. Ganga Nath Jha Res. Inst. Vol. IX. Page 97.

28. Out line of the Religious Literature of India P. 226-270.

क्षुपाख्यानम्

परांजपे विनायक शर्मा

[The Purāṇas are closely connected with the religious sects like Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta, hence a particular Purāṇa mainly aims at glorifying the God concerned, by elevating him to the highest position and showing him to be superior to all others ; and in order to achieve this they naturally include a good number of legends or myths, besides their main topics as pronounced in the definition of 'Purāṇa'. The writer here, for example, mentious the legend of Kṣupa and Dadhīca, as we now get it in the Śiva Liṅga Purāṇas, and takes great pains to make an historico-critical appraisal of it. He also makes out that the story was developed through many stages and that in its course of development it got considerably changed and reconstructed in accordance with the avowed position of the Purāṇic tradition. The author of these Purāṇas has primarily intended to serve twofold purpose through such a story, to establish the great superiority of the God Śiva and the consequent greatness of his devotee who had been blessed by Him with the three boons, and also at the same time as he cherished the desire, to prove that the Brāhmaṇa caste was ever superior to the Kṣatṛya caste.

The legend is here actually reproduced with a view to explore the possibility of the conditions and motives that led the author of the purāṇas to modify or reconstruct it. There are, however, some connecting links between the different stories to be met with in the Ṛgveda and the Mahābhārata on the one side and the Purāṇic form of the legend on the other. The author of the legend, according to the present writer, has expressly incorporated into it almost all significent elements as referred to here in a syncretic way. From this it becomes clear that the Purāṇas

present the best amalgamation of Vedic and Tāntrik elements in a synthetic manner that also constitutes one of the most important charactaristics of the Purāṇas.]

पुराणं तावत् पञ्चलक्षणं भवति इति जानन्त्येव सर्वे। तानि च पञ्चलक्षणानि निरूपितानि सन्ति तेषु तेषु पुराणेषु यथा :

सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च।
वंशानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम्॥

यस्य कस्यापि पुराणस्य पञ्चलक्षणव्याप्तः अंशः प्रायः पुराणस्य समग्रस्य पञ्चमांशतोऽपि न्यूनः भवति। उर्वरिते पुराणस्य विभागे प्रायः सर्वेपि विषयाः समावेशिताः भवन्ति। तत्र वर्तन्ते स्मृतयः, विद्यन्ते आचारधर्माः, भवन्ति संस्कारवर्णनानि, सन्ति तीर्थमाहात्म्यानि, उपलभ्यन्ते आख्यानानि, कीर्त्यन्ते कथाश्च।

अष्टादश महापुराणानि सन्ति इति परिचितम् एव समेषाम्। तानि च महापुराणानि त्रेधा विभज्यन्ते। तत्र कानिचन राजसानि ब्रह्मदेवतामाहात्म्य वर्णनपराणि, अपराणि च सात्विकानि विष्णुदेवतास्तुतिपराणि, अन्यानि च वर्तन्ते तामसानि शिवं देवताश्रेष्ठं उपवर्णयन्तिच। यस्मिन् पुराणे शिवः प्रधान-देवता तत्र प्रायः कथाः संगृह्यन्ते, विरच्यन्ते, प्रणीयन्ते निबध्यन्ते च शिवस्य माहात्म्यं प्रस्थापयितुम्। तत्र वर्णिताः भवन्ति शतशः तस्या तस्या देवतायाः अवतारविशेषाः तेषां तेषां भक्तानां संकटनिवारणाय। कदाचित् वैदिकः कदाचित् तान्त्रिकः कदाचिन्नु संमिश्रोऽपि पूजाविधिः पुराणेषु उपवर्णितो भवति। तत्र प्रसंगवशात् उपदिश्यन्ते नैकानि व्रतानि प्रायः काम्यानि क्वचित्तु निष्कामान्यपि। बहुधा तत्र तत्र निबध्यन्ते स्तोत्राणि तत्रापि च सहस्रनामादीनामपि संग्रहः कृतो दृश्यते। एवं च महान् विस्तारः संपाद्यते पुराणकारैः सूतादिभिः तेषां तेषां पुराणानाम्। अस्मिन् प्रबन्धे तु शिवदेवतामाहात्म्यवर्णनपरयोः शिवलिङ्गपुराणयोः उपलभ्यमानं क्षुपाख्यानं यद्वा क्षुपदधीचोपाख्यानं विमर्शनाय स्वीक्रियते।

तत्र प्रथमं तावत् पुराणद्वये यां कथां उपलभामहे तामेव संक्षेपेण उपस्थापयामः।

भृगुगोत्रोत्पन्नः दधीचो नाम आसीत् कश्चित् विप्रवरः। ब्रह्मसूनुः प्रजाहितदक्षः क्षत्रियवरः नृपः बभूव क्षुपो नाम। तयोश्च महान् स्नेहः परस्परं वृद्धिं जगाम। दृढसौहार्दबद्धयोः क्षुपदधीचयोः सभायां विविधान् विषयान् अधिकृत्य संवादः कदाचित् विवादोऽपि प्रवर्तते स्म। कदाचित्तु विषयः प्रासंगिकः प्रावर्तत वर्णेषु विप्रः श्रेष्ठः उत क्षत्रियः इति। दधीचेन विप्रस्य श्रेष्ठत्वं उपवर्णितम्। क्षुपेन युक्त्या नृपस्य अष्टलोकांशसंभवादि प्रतिपाद्य क्षत्रियस्य श्रेष्ठत्वं प्रस्थापितम्। दधीचस्तु युक्तिमुपस्थापयितुमप्रभुः क्रोधेन मुष्ट्या क्षुपमूर्ध्नि प्रहारं अकरोत्। क्रुद्धश्च क्षुपः असहमानः विप्रकृतं अवमानं वज्रायुधेनैव दधीचं द्विधा चिच्छेद। एवं छिन्नदेहः दधीचः कुलपूरुषं भार्गवं सस्मार। सपद्येव शुक्रः प्रादुर्भूतः मृतसञ्जीवनेन मन्त्रेण खण्डद्वयं संधाय उज्जीवयामास दधीचम्। उपदिदेश च महामृत्युंजयं मन्त्रं भार्गवं दधीचम्। उपदेशानुसारं मृत्युंजयानुष्ठानं विधाय प्रसादितात् शिवात् वरत्रयं लेभे दधीचः। वज्रास्थित्वं, अवध्यत्वं, अदीनत्वंचेति त्रयः वराः समधिगतास्तेन शिवात्। लब्धवरश्च दधीचः क्षुपमभिगम्य कदाचित् पादेन मूर्ध्नि ताडयामास। यथापूर्वं क्षुपः वज्रेण तदुरसि जघान। परंतु सांप्रतम् वज्रास्थित्वात् शरीरस्य वज्रमेव कुण्ठितं बभूव।

ज्ञातदधीचबलः क्षुपः तपसा विष्णुं प्रसादयामास। प्रसन्नंच विष्णुं दधीचपराभवकर्मणि साहाय्यमयाचत। भगवानपि परिचितसामर्थ्यः शिवस्य तद्भक्तस्यापिच क्षुपं निष्फलादुद्यमात् परावर्तयितुं महान्तं यत्नमातिष्ठत्। अवमानक्षुब्धहृदयः क्षुपः दधीचपराभवं निर्बन्धेन ययाचे। भक्ताधीनो भगवान् भक्तसमाधानार्थमेव केवलं निष्फलं यत्नमारेभे। कृतब्राह्मणवेषः दधीचं ऋषिमुपागम्य भिक्षां ययाचे। ज्ञातविष्णुकौटिल्यश्च दधीचः त्वत्तोऽपि रुद्रभक्तस्य भयं नास्ति कुतः अन्यस्मात् क्षुपादेः। कृपया कौटिल्यं परित्यज्य प्रतिनिवर्तस्वेत्याह।

भगवान् सान्त्वं प्रयुज्य दधीचं उपस्तुत्य मदनुग्रहायापि वा भवतु सकृत् 'नृपात् बिभेमि' 'नृपः एव श्रेष्ठः विप्रात्' इति निवेदयितुं प्रार्थयत। परंतु दधीचः तन्नानुमेने। क्रुद्धः विष्णुः सायुधः सदेवः दधीचं अभिजगाम। तुमुलं युद्धं आसीत्। विष्णोश्चक्रमपि कुण्ठितं आसीत्। कुशमुष्ठया त्रिशिखं आयुधं निर्माय सर्वेषां देवानां पराभवं संपादयामास। अन्ततश्च सदेवः विष्णुः रुद्रभक्तं शरणं

जगाम। दधीचश्च सदेवं विष्णुं दक्षयज्ञे वीरभद्रात् तव विनाशो भवितेति शशाप। क्षुपस्तु पराभूतः दधीचस्य क्षमां प्रार्थयित्वा प्रासादं प्रतिन्यवर्तत। दधीचोपि स्वं आश्रमं प्रत्याजगाम।

कथायामस्यां द्वौ पुरुषौ अधिकृत्य कथा प्रवर्तते तौ तु प्रथितौ वर्त्तेते प्राचीने वाङ्मये वेदे भारतादौ च। तत्र दध्यङ्आथर्वणस्तु ऋग्वेदे, शाख्यामत्र-ब्राह्मणे, वाजसनेयिब्राह्मणे, शतपथब्राह्मणे च अस्ति उल्लिखितः। दधीचः ऋषिः महाभारतादौ अपि बहुधा उल्लिखितः अस्ति। अपरं क्षुपं नृपवरं यद्यपि वैदिके वाङ्मये नोपलभामहे अथापि महाभारते पञ्चसु स्थलेषु तदीयमुल्लेखं समधि-गच्छामः। न केवलं तयोः नाम्ना परिचयः प्राचीने काले आसीत्। किंतु अत्र ये नाम तेषां गुणाः सन्ति उपवर्णिताः तेऽपि आसन् दृढपरिचिताः इति प्रस्था-पयितुं शक्नुमो वयम्। तत्र दधीचः यान् वरान् प्रसन्नात् शिवादधिगच्छति तत्र उल्लिख्यमानं वज्रास्थित्वं ऋग्वेदे एव समुल्लिखितं अस्ति। (ऋ. १.११६. १२ ; १.८३.१३). सायणश्च मन्त्रयोरनयोः अर्थं विशदीकर्तुं शाङ्खायनादि ब्राह्मणगतां कथां उल्लिखति। क्षुपस्य यः विशेषः ब्रह्मणः पुत्रत्वरूपः तत्रापि च तस्य ब्रह्मणः क्षुपात् उत्पत्तिः इतीदं द्वयमपि महाभारते शान्तिपर्वणि १२२ तमे अध्याये १५-१८ श्लोकेषु वर्णितं भवति।

क्षुपस्य वज्रायुधं यत् प्रकृतकथायां उल्लिखितं तत्तु मन्ये कथाकारेण महाभारते शान्तिपर्वणि १६० तमे अध्याये ७१ श्लोके च 'असि धर्मस्य गोप्तारं ददौ सत्कृत्य विष्णवे' इत्यादिना . . . 'मनुः प्रजानां रक्षार्थं क्षुपाय प्रददावसिम्' इत्यन्तेन वर्णितः धर्मदण्डएव वज्ररूपेण परिणामितः स्यात्। इतः परं अस्यां कथायां ये अंशाः सन्ति वर्णिताः तेषां वस्तुतः प्रसिद्धयोः क्षुपदधीचयोः प्राचीने चरित्रेनैव भवति उपलब्धिः। ते तु सूतादिभिः अन्यत्र प्रसिद्धा एव प्रकृतकथायां निवेशिता इति वक्तुं सुशकम्।

तत्र प्रथमं दधीचेन यः मुष्टिप्रहारः कृतः यशवराधिगमानन्तरं पादतलेन मूर्ध्नि प्रहारः कृतः स किल अंशः संगृहीतः स्यात् वेनोपाख्यानात् भारतादौ सर्वत्र विख्यातात्।

भार्गवेण समागत्य खण्डद्वयं संधाय पुनरुज्जीवनं कृतं दधीचस्य इति यः अंशः तस्य मूलंतु महाभारते सभापर्वणि वर्णितं जरासंधोपाख्यानमेव इति वक्तुं सुशकम्। दधीचस्य उज्जीवितस्य मृत्युंजयमन्त्रोपदेशः तस्य मन्त्रस्य यत् अर्थादिविवरणं स सर्वोपि भागः अस्ति स्वीकृतः मन्त्रशास्त्रादेः। मृत्युंजय-मन्त्रानुष्ठानेन वज्रास्थित्वं वरं प्राप्तवानिति अंशः वेदवाङ्मयादेव स्वीकृतः इति तु पूर्वं प्रतिपादितमेव। अवध्यत्वं 'अमरत्वं' तु तस्य मन्त्रस्य विशिष्टं फलमेव शतशः आख्यानेषु उपवर्णितं भवत्येव। प्रायः सर्वे असुराः अमर्त्यत्वं अधिगन्तुं प्रायतन्त इति सुपरिचितमेव समेषां विदुषाम्। तृतीयस्यतु अदीनत्वस्य प्राचीने वाङ्मये सुमुल्लेखः तेन शब्देन नास्ति। कदाचित् भागवतादौ कृष्णस्य कृपावशेन सुदाम्नः यदैश्वर्यं आसीत् तदनुसारं दधीचस्य ब्रह्मर्षेः पुत्रः कदाचिदपि उपजीविकायै क्षुपादीनां याचना कर्तव्या मा भवतु इति बुद्धयैव तत् वर्णितं स्यात् इति भाति।

विष्णुः विप्रवेषेण दधीचं याचितुमागच्छति इत्ययमंशस्तु प्रायः महा-भारतीयं इन्द्रेण विप्ररूपेण कवचकुण्डलयोः याचनाप्रसङ्गं आश्रित्यैव प्रवृत्तः स्यादिति वक्तुं शक्यम्।

तत्रैवच 'दधीचेन स्वशरीरे निखिलं जगत् स्थितं वर्तते' इति यः कथांशः प्रयुक्तः यस्य तु बीजं अर्जुनस्य भगवता प्रदर्शितं विश्वरुपदर्शनमेव इति वक्तुं शक्यम्। दधीचस्य पराभवाय विष्णुः स्वशरीरात् लक्षशः गणान् उत्पादयामास इत्यादि यद् वर्णनं तत् तु दक्षयज्ञविध्वंसप्रसंगेन वीरभद्रावतारं शम्भासुराख्यानं वा स्मारयति इति स्पष्टमेव। अन्तवश्च दधीचेन दर्भमुष्टया निर्मितस्य त्रिशिखस्य कल्पना भारतीययुद्धे नारायणास्त्रप्रयोगः यदा कृतः अश्वत्थाम्ना तदा केवलं शरणागतिमेव समाश्रयामासुः सर्वे योद्धारः इत्यादिः कथावस्तुन एव स्वीकृता स्यात्।

एतावता अस्यां कथायां प्रयुक्तयोः कथापुरुषयोः मूलं तथैवच तत्संबद्ध तयोपवर्णितानां विविधानामंशानां मूलं कीदृशं भवितुमर्हति इति विषयः प्रदर्शितः। एवं सूतैः विविधाभ्यः कथाभ्यः विविधाः विषयाः संगृहीताः इति सुनिश्चितमेव। बहीभ्यः कथाभ्यः स्वीकृतैः विषयैः एकमाख्यानं तैरुपरचितम्। तस्य च

आख्यानस्य विरचनायां किं प्रयोजनं तेषामुद्दिष्टं स्यात् इत्येतावानंशः इतः परं प्रस्तूयते ।

पुराणद्वयमपि अस्याः कथायाः संग्राहकं भवति तामसं शिवदेवता-माहात्म्यख्यापकम् । दधीचस्य ब्रह्मर्षेः शिवभक्तिः पूर्वं अनुल्लिखितापि अत्र निर्दिष्टा । तस्य परमशिवभक्तत्वं संसाध्य तादृशशिवभक्तद्वारा महाविष्णोः अपि पराभवः भवति इति उपवर्णितमस्ति । तेन च शिवस्य माहात्म्यं प्रकर्षेण आविष्कृतं भवति । विष्णुभक्तः शिवभक्तस्य पुरतः क्षुद्रतम एव तुलनां सर्वथा नार्हति इति तु क्षुपस्य पराभवेणैव संसाधितम् । साक्षात् विष्णुरपि शिवभक्तेन योद्धुं अप्रभुः शिवभक्तं शरणं याचते, इति शिवस्य माहात्म्यं स्थापयत्येव । तत्र एकेनैव उपलेन यथा फलद्वयपातः निपुणेन क्रियते तद्वत् शिवमाहात्म्यं स्थापयन्नेव सूतः तयोः यथाक्रमं द्विजत्वं क्षत्रियत्वं च उपनिबध्नन् अनायासेन अनादिपरंपराप्राप्तं ब्राह्मणक्षत्रिययोः संघर्षं उल्लिख्य ब्राह्मणस्य श्रेष्ठत्वं आत्मनोऽभिमतं संसाधयति ।

एवं च पुराणेषु उल्लिखिताः संगृहीताश्च कथाः प्रायः कंचन विशिष्टं उद्देश्यं साधयितुमेव प्रणीताः भवन्ति । तासु च कथासु अन्यत्र प्रथिताः विषयाः एव सूतादिभिः उपयुज्यन्ते इत्यपि सुस्पष्टं प्रतीयते ।

ARTHA AND ARTHAŚĀSTRA IN THE PURĀṆIC ICONOGRAPHY AND THEIR SYMBOLICAL IMPLICATIONS

By

Om Prakash

[लेखेऽस्मिन् शिवलिङ्गपुराणयोरुल्लिखितधनाध्यक्षकुबेरस्य स्वरूप-प्रतिकृति (प्रतिमा) निर्माण वर्णनक्रमेऽन्तर्निहितविचारा आविष्कृता, अर्थशास्त्रदृष्ट्याऽऽलोचिताश्च सन्ति। कुबेर अर्थस्य अर्थशास्त्रस्य वा मूर्तिमत्ता, प्राक्कालिकयोरतिप्रसिद्धयोरेतयोराध्यात्मिकविचारयोः सम्यक्तया प्रतीकत्वेन प्रतिनिधित्वेन वा स्थानीयतां च यात इति सयुक्तिकं प्रतिपादितं वर्तते। परम्पराऽपि वर्तत एव यत् कुबेर अर्थपति, अर्थशास्त्रस्य देवता धनपतिरिति। स हि अन्नदाता, क्षेत्रपाल इत्यपि हरिकेशस्य (कुबेरस्य) काश्यां तपश्चरणात् प्रसन्नेन शिवेन वरप्रदानात्संसाध्यते। वैदिकवाङ्मये बहुधा यक्षेशः कुबेरो मनुजत्वेनैव वर्ण्यते न तु देवत्वेन। पुराणेषु यहाभारते तु देवत्वमेतस्य निर्विवादमेव।

महाभारत-कामसूत्रप्रभृतिग्रन्थानां साक्ष्येण कुबेर· नन्दीश्वर-रुद्रशिवाभ्यां सहैवोपवर्णितः, तथा हि पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयमधिकृत्य ब्रह्मणा विनिर्मितस्य महाग्रन्थस्य कामार्थभागयोः निष्क्रमणकथाप्रसंगेनास्य तयो. सहयोगित्वं अर्थशास्त्ररूपत्वं च प्रस्फुटीभवति। अन्यच्च लोकयात्रादेवत्वेन लोकपालः सिंहाङ्कलक्षणः कुबेरः शक्तिरूपोत्साहस्य, गदारूपदण्डनीतेः, ऋद्धिरूपलोकयात्रायाः, रत्नपात्ररूपगुणाधारतायाः, मनुष्यवाहनरूपराज्यस्य, शंखपद्मनिधिरूपसम्पत्तेः, दंष्ट्रारूपनिग्रहानुग्रहयोश्च सुतरां स्वरूपलक्षणेन प्रतिनिधित्वं प्रतिरूपतां वार्हति। एवं हि विष्णुधर्म (III. 53 7-12) श्लोकानां प्रमाणबलेन पुरा प्रयुज्यमानार्थस्यार्थशास्त्रस्य वा स्थाने कुबेर इति प्रदर्शने श्रीलेखकमहोदयाना तु विशेषाऽभिनवा काचिदभिसन्धिरत्र प्रतीयते।]

However crude and grotesque, the ancient Indian icons may appear to be in the eyes of their foreign connoisseurs, true to the motto of their designers, they are the live embodiments of the ideas mythical, spiritual and otherwise transcending the limits of verbal expression.[1] One of the peculiar characteristics of Indian culture, as the presence of a spiritual core in every department of

1. Coomaraswami, Dance of Siva pp. 96ff.
Havell, Indian Sculpture and Painting p. 96.
Stella Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture pp. 28f.

life is, one need wonder at the inclusion of artha and arthaśāstra in the domain of Purāṇic iconography. The icon of artha, we are told at one place, is to be fashioned in the form of Dhanada the god of wealth.[1] The same source regards Dhanādhyakṣa or Kubera as the embodiment of all the arthaśāstras.[2] A glance at the features of the image of Kubera and their symbolicol implications, as prescribed in the texts sheds an interesting light upon the popular and spiritual concept of artha and arthaśāstra as held in ancient India.

Dhanada or Kubera is to be given a complexion resembling that of lotus leaves. He is to ride a man and is to be adorned with all the ornaments and dresses all golden in colour. His belly should be big and pot-like, his hands should be four in number. Left of his two eyes should be yellow पिङ्गल. His dress is prescribed to be 'apīcya' which T. A. Gopinath Rao takes to be that of westerners[3] while a note (probably editorial) in the text itself interprets it as 'very beautiful'.[4] He should wear an armour and a necklace hanging down to his belly. His face should be provided with a beard and mustaches with two short tusks in his mouth. His head described as the destroyer of the enemy should be shown as slightly inclining to the left. In his left lap is to be seated the boon bestower goddess Ṛiddhi his consort. The right one of her two hands should be placed on the back of the god while the left one should hold a 'ratnapātra'. The right pair of the four hands of the god should hold a 'gadā' and a śakti' while the left ones should bear a standard marked with the figure of a lion and a śibikā.[5] On his sides are to be portrayed the treasures called śaṁkha and padma in

1. अर्थः कार्यस्तु रूपेण धनदस्य महात्मनः Viṣnudh. III. 72. 19.
2. अर्थशास्त्राणि सर्वाणि धनाध्यक्षः प्रकीर्तितः Ibid. III. 73. 44.
3. Elements of Hindu Iconography Vol. II. p 536
4. अपीच्यमतिसुन्दरम्.
5. The text is सिंहाङ्क लक्षणम् वृत्तं शिबिकामपि पादयोः. Evidently पादयोः appears to be a mistake for वामयोः as it carries no sense to say that the emblems were held by feet.

the human forms with their faces emerging out of conch shell and lotus flower respectively.[1]

After this physical description of the feature of the image we are told of their symbolical imports. Thus Dhanada is said to be one of the forms of Aniruddha. He is dressed in a drapery of golden colour because gold is the most precious of all the wealths.[2] His śakti is known as the śakti or power probably the same as 'prabhu' and 'utsāha' etc. His gadā is the embodiment of daṇḍanīti while his consort Ṛiddhi stands for 'lokayātrā' or the journey of life. The 'ratnapātra' in her hand symbolises the receptacle of qualities गुणाधार. The man whom the god is riding stands for the state or राज्य. The two nidhis viz., śaṁkha and padma which are bodily present are embodiments of wealth. The lion standard which the god is holding represents artha with all its powers while the two short tusks of his mouth stand for the powers of punishment i.e. 'nigraha' and of bestowing favours i.e. 'anugraha'.[2]

Now if we substitute artha or arthaśāstra in the place of Kubera or Dhanada the entire iconographic characteristics of the god acquire altogether new meaning.

Kubera is one of the lokapālas[3] and hence the ultimate

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1. Viṣṇudh. III. 53. 1-7. cf Matsya 261. 20-23.

2. अनिरुद्धस्तु विज्ञेयस्त्वया देवो धनाधिपः
सुवर्णं नाम विख्यातं धनानामुत्तमं धनम्
तस्यानुग्रहतो धत्ते वासः कनकसन्निभम् ॥
शक्तिरेवस्मृता शक्ति दण्डनीतिस्तथा गदा
लोकयात्रा च कथिता ऋद्धिर्ज्ञेया स्वभावतः ॥
तत्करे रत्नपात्रं तु गुणाधारं प्रचक्षते
नरं राज्यं विजानीह यत्रस्थस्तु सदा विभुः ॥
स्वरूपतस्तु विज्ञेयो शंखपद्मौ तथा निधी
वित्ततोशो जयत्यस्मिस्ताभ्यां प्रसवतेऽयुतः ॥
अर्थः सक्षमया ज्ञेयः केतुः सिहाङ्कलक्षणः
निग्रहानुग्रहे दंष्ट्रे तस्य तात महात्मनः ॥

Visnudh. III, 53. 7-12.

3. A. Getty, Gods of Northern Buddhism p. 139.

purpose of the science of arthaśāstra is to sustain the world. Arthaśastra has to regulate and govern all those affairs of man that are likely to accentuate or impede the march of life in the world in as much as Kubera is the lord of 'lokayātrā' embodied in the form of Riddhi his consort. As against the well known tradition of the epic and Kāmasūtra which regards daṇḍanīti as the source of arthaśāstra[1] the present conception appears to take daṇḍanīti in a more restricted sense, otherwise it would not have regarded gadā in the right hand of the icon as the symbol of daṇḍanīti. As is clear from the nature of the weapon which stands for it, daṇḍanīti is nothing but the policy of punishment. The lion standard which the divine namesake of the śāstra holds in one of his left hands makes it quite clear that the śāstra is primarily devoted to artha of which the standard is the insignia. It may also be of some importance to notice, as Getty points out, the lion associated with Dhanada bears green names as against the usual yellow ones.[2] The feature that the god is riding a man is no less a striking one. This shows that the burden of the entire regulative activities of the śāstra is to be borne by common man.[3]

References to Dhanada and Dhanapati no doubt occur in the Ṛigveda[4] and Atharvaveda[5] but these epithets signify rather the charitable aspect of Indra than an independent god Kubera; for Gautama[6] and Āpastamba[7] still reckon Kubera and Nandiśvara not as gods but as human beings. The Gṛihyasūtra of Śāṅkhāyana, however, prescribes the offerings of meat, sesamum seeds and flowers for Kubera and Rudraśiva.[8] Other Gṛihyasūtras e. g.

1. Kāmasūtra, I. 1 5-10.; Mbh. XII. Ch. 59.
2. A. Getty, op. cit., p. 141.
3. Hopkins interpretes 'Naravāhana' as drawn by spirits. JAOS XXXIII pp. 60ff. but here nara is obviously said to signify rajya or kingdom.
4. I. 33. 2f.
5. V. 23. 2.
6. 16. 34. } These refer to Dharmasūtras.
7. 1. 3. 11. 3. }
8. I. 11. 6.

Hiraṅyakeśin know him as god. In the epics and the Purāṇas the godhood of Kubera is unquestioned, He is the lord of the Yakṣas and Alakā, the guardian of north, the son of Viśravas and Iḍāvidā or alternatively of Pulastya and the brother of Rāvaṇa.[1] He is known also as the son of a Yakṣa Pūrṇabhadra, his early name is Harikeśa. Numerous legends about Kubera are scattered through the pages of the epics and the Purāṇas. Several attributes on the lines of which his image was later on devised appear in the course of these legends. Thus his lordship of Riddhi[2] and his being carried by a man[3] as also his association with the personified nidhis Śaṁkha and Padma as his councillors[4] are concepts already established in the epics. His association, nay his identification with artha and arthaśāstra, however, is a notion that is conspicuous by its absence not only in the epics but also in most of the Purāṇas. But the fact that he was considered to be embodiment of artha and arthaśāstra in the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa, as already noticed above, was not without a clue in the history of the development of the conception of Kubera.

The fact that Kubera is bracketed with Nandīśvara as human being and with Rudraśiva as a god is significant. Nandīśvara like Kubera was also elevated to godhood and was regarded as an important member of the retinue of Śiva. Rudraśiva along with whom Kubera is mentioned, we know, was a prototype of Śiva and probably a mixture of the Aryan and non-Aryan concepts. Nandīśvara is moreover credited by Vātsyāyana with the extraction of the portions on kāma from the gigantic compendium which Brahmā composed on all the four puruṣārthas.[5] Similarly Viśālākṣa, a synonym of Śiva and a predecessor of Kauṭilya whom he quotes, is reputed to have extracted the portions on artha from the same compendium of

1. E W. Hopkins, Epic Mythology pp. 142 ff. Bhāg. IX. 2. 32-33. Brahmāṇḍa, II. 18. 1-2 ; 35.94 ; 36.28. III. 7.254, 331 ; 8.44 ; 72.2. Matsya, 121. 2-3 ; 137.32. Vāyu, 69. 196.
2. Mbh. III. 139.8 ; V. 117,9 ; XIII. 146.4.
3. Ibid. III. 168. 13 ; V. 192.42. etc.
4. E. W. Hopkins, op. cit. p. 143.
5. Kāmasūtra, I. 1.5-10, trans. S. C. Upadhyay p. 67.

Brahmā.[1] Now Kubera who was once on a par with Nandīśvara the promulgator of the science of erotics, should also be connected in some way or the other with the science of the artha. The step was not an altogether a new one as the god was already associated with the nidhis Śaṅkha and Padma as his councillors. He can, thus, easily be regarded as an embodiment of artha and arthāśāstra, the sister pursuit of kāma and its science.

Ths association of Kubera with Rudraśiva as the gods of the same status demonstrates the amalgamation of the vedic and non-vedic currents in the conception of Kubera, if not his non-vedic origin, This again, however accidentally lends a tacit support to the theory, already held by some ancient authorities, of the non-vedic origin of arthaśāstra.[2]

Harikeśa, the would be Gaṇapati or Kubera, we are told, was a righteous and a devout person from his very childhood inspite of his being a yakṣa by birth. Observing the man-like activities and nature of his son, his father Pūrṇabhadra exhorted him to adopt that way of life to which a yakṣa is entitled. When no response was shown from his side his father exiled him and he came over to Kāśi where he devoted himself exclusively to Śiva and began to practise austerities. Pleased by his penance Śiva gave him the boon of being immune to all the diseases and death, venerable to all the gaṇas and lord of all the wealth. He also blessed him to be the bestower of foodgrains 'annadātā', and protector of fields 'ksetrapāla' besides being invincible.[3] This tradition about the god is also significant in so far as it ties arthaśāstra as represented through him to 'vārtā' one of the essential bases of the state organisation with which the arthaśāstra professes to deal.

It was hitherto the convention of Hindu mythology to reckon Kubera as the god of wealth but the foregoing discussion makes it quite clear that there is at least a tendency,

1. Mbh. XII. 59.80.
2. J. S. Negi. Some Indological Studies Vol. I. p. 6. cf. Medhātithi on Manu VII. 1.
3. Matsya ch. 180.

however recent, in the Purāṇic lore to give him a wider significance by taking 'Dhana' in the sense of 'artha' and 'artha' as the subject matter of the arthaśāstra. Kubera, thus comes out to be a god of ancient Indian polity or arthaśāstra as well, or rather a deification of it.

PEHOA—THE ANCIENT PRITHŪDAKA.

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[निबन्धेऽस्मिन् 'हरियाना' प्रदेशे 'कर्नल' मण्डलान्तर्गत 'पेहोवा' स्थानस्य सरस्वतीतटवर्तिनः प्रसिद्ध कुरुक्षेत्र ('थानेश्वर', स्थाण्वीश्वर') नगरपश्चिमभागे वर्तमानस्य ऐतिहासिकं वर्णनं वर्तते । 'पेहोवा' प्राचीनपृथूदकतीर्थात् मनागपि न भिद्यते । सरस्वत्यास्तटे स्थितमेतत्तीर्थवरं वैनपुत्रस्य राज्ञः पृथोरारोग्यकरं बहुपुण्ययुक्तं त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतं ब्रह्मसृष्टं पापहरं शिवं 'सुतीर्थ'मिति स्मृतम् । परितः मध्ये चैतस्य नैकविधानि तीर्थानि, अग्नितीर्थ-कोटितीर्थ-विश्वामित्र प्रभृतीनि विराजन्ते ।

पुरातत्वाध्ययनद्वारा श्रीलेखकमहोदयेनात्र प्राप्त शिलालेख-स्थापत्य वास्तु-कला-प्राचीनावशेष-महाभारत-पुराण-वर्तमानमेलकादि साक्ष्याधारेण बहुप्रमाण-पुरःसरं 'पेहोवा' स्थानस्य अति प्राचीनत्वं महत्वं च स्थापितम् । प्राचीनतमानि मन्दिराणि मोहम्मदैरुत्सादितानि महाराष्ट्रीयैश्च पुनर्निर्मापितानि । अत्रत्याः मृत्पात्रावशेषा 'पेन्टेड ग्रे वेयर' इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धाः संकलिता, आर्यैश्च सम्बद्धाः सूच्यन्ते । एतेन 'पेहोवा' स्थापनकालः खीष्टीयपूर्वं ११००-६०० तमेषु वर्षेषु स्थीयते । स्मारकावशेषाश्चैतिहासिकं गौरवं दृढीकुर्वन्ति । लखनऊ-संग्रहालयस्थ 'पेहोवा प्रशस्ति' रपि प्रतिहार महाराज महेन्द्रपालकाले वैभवमस्य वर्णयति । २७६ तमे विक्रमाब्दे गरीबनाथमन्दिरलेखाअपि प्रसिद्धतरं वाजिमेलकवृत्तं निर्दिशन्ति । अद्यापि मेलकं जायते जना समागत्य पुण्यं लभन्ते, स्नान्ति पापक्षयं च कुर्वन्ति । एतदतिरिच्य तत्रैव समुपलभ्यते यद् पृथूदकं व्यापारकेन्द्र आसीत् । यज्ञवाराहमन्दिरनिर्माणकथाऽपि वरीवर्ति । सर्वमेतत् कनिंघममहोदयेन शतवर्षपूर्वमेव प्राकाश्यं नीतम् । विविधाऽवशेषाः शिलालेखाः समधिगताः; 'विश्वामित्र का टीला' प्रभृति मध्ययुगीनकृतयः, ब्रह्मा-शिव-पार्वती-यम-सिंहादीनां मूर्तयः, कुरुक्षेत्रविश्वविद्यालये सुरक्षिता-स्तिष्ठन्ति; प्रमाणयन्ति चातिप्राचीनतां विश्रुतिश्च महती 'पेहोवा' नगरस्य, एकात्म्यं च पेहोवा-पृथूदकनाम्नोः सम्यक्साधयन्ति ।]

Pehoa[1] is the tehsil headquarters of District Karnal,

1. Also written as Pehowa and Peheva. Imperial Gazetteer of India, XX, New Edition, Oxford 1908, p. 100; Karnal District Gazetteer, 1890, pp. 31 ff.; C.J. Rodgers, Revised List of Objects of Archaeological Interest in the Punjab, Lahore 1891, pp. 56-57, etc.

Haryana Prant, situated in 29°59′ North Latitude and 76°35′ East Longitude, on the sacred Sarasvatī river, about 25 Kilometers west of the famous city of Kurukshetra or Thanesar (ancient Sthāṇvīśvara) with which it is connected by a metalled road. It is connected by road with Ambala and Kaithal[2] also. Its railway station, Pehoa Road by name, lies on the Kurukshetra-Narwana section of the Northern Railway and is about 11 kilometers south of the town connected by a kaccha road. The place occupied a prominent place amongst the holy places of ancient India and is still regarded as an important tīrtha. It is visited by a large number of people and a fair is held here in March or April every year. The antiquity of the place is proved by the great number of its antiquarian remains it possesses and by its many references in the Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and in the later literature as one of the most important tīrthas of Kurukshetra.

Its Name

The modern name Pehoa is a corruption of the Sanskrit word Pṛithūdaka which was the original name of the city as we learn from the Garibnath Temple inscription of this place.[3] This name, however, was derived from Pṛithu son of Rājā Vena who was cured of his leprosy by bathing in the Sarasvatī. Pṛithu performed the usual śrāddha after his death and sat on the bank of Sarasvatī for twelve days offering water to all comers. The spot, therefore, was called Pṛithūdaka and the city which he built on the same spot or in its vicinity was also named similarly[4].

Its Importance and Sanctity.

Pṛithūdaka has been regarded as one of the most important and sacred tīrthas of India. It is situated on the bank of the

2. Ancient Kapisthala, see V. S. Agrawal, India As Known To Pāṇini, Lucknow 1953, pp. 65 & 77; N. L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 92; C.J. Rodgers, Op. cit., pp. 19-20.

3. E.I., I (1892), pp. 184-90. Also see Kāvya-mīmāṁsa of Rājaśekhara, tr. by Pt. Kedarnath Sharma, Patna, 1954, pp. 227 & 291.

4. IGI, op. cit., p. 100., Sir Alexander Cunningham. The Ancient Geography of India, Varanasi, 1963, p. 283; ASR, XIV, p. 101.

Sarasvatī river which has been held as the most divine and best of the rivers in the Ṛigveda[5] and has been eulogised much in the later literature,[6] It was created by Brahmā himself along with all the beings and the five elements and Prīdaka gloried on its bank—

पूर्वं नदीयं प्रपितामहेन सृष्टा समं भूतगणैः समस्तैः ।
मही जलं वह्निस्समीरमेव खं त्वेवमादौ विबभौ पृथूदकम् ॥

Vāmana Purāṇa, XXII 45.

Pṛithūdaka has been regarded as possessed of many merits, remover of sins and auspicious.[7] It is famous in all the three worlds—त्रैलोक्यविश्रुतम्.[8] There is no other holy place more meritorious sacred and sanctifying than Pṛithūdaka—

पृथूदकात्पुण्यतमं नान्यत्तीर्थं नरोत्तम ।
एतन्मेध्यं पवित्रं च पावनं च न संशयः ॥

Mbh. (Cr. Ed.) III. 81, 125.
Padma P. I. 27, 36-37.

It is told in the Mbh. that any wrong committed by man or woman, intentionally or unintentionally, is obliterated by taking a bath in Pṛithūdaka and he or she gets the merit of a horse-sacrifice and goes to heaven.[9] Even those who have committed

5. RV. II. 41, 16 : III. 54, 13 ; V. 42, 12 ; VI. 50, 12 ; VIII. 54, 4 ; X. 30, 12 ; 75, 5 ; 131, 5 ; etc.
6. AV. IV. 4, 6 ; V. 23, 1 ; VI. 3, 2 ; VII. 68, 1; XIV. 2, 1[8] ; XVI 4, 1, XIX. 32, 9; Taitt. Saṁ. VII. 2, 1, 4; Pañc. Br. I. 4, 1, 14, Ait. Br. II. 19, 12; Kāt. Śr. S. XII. 3, 20; XXIV. 6, 22; Lāṭ. Śr. S. X. 15, 1; Āśv. Śr. S. XII. 6, 2, 3; Śāṅk. Śr. S. XIII. 29; Mbh. I. 16, 13-21; III. 13, 14; 36, 41 ; 84, 66; 90, 3 ; 100, 13 ; IX. 35-54 ; etc. Bhāg. P. I. 4, 1[7], IV. 19, 1 ; Br. P. II. 12, 16 ; Vāyu P. 45, 95; 55 43 ; Matsya P. 7[1], 121, 64-5; Vasishṭha. I. 8; Baudh. I. 12, 9, Bṛih. Up. VI. 3, 8; etc.
7. बहुपुण्ययुक्तं पृथूदकं पापहरं शिवं च । Vām. P. XXII 44.
8. Mbh. (Cr. Ed.) III. 81-122.
9. अज्ञानाज्ज्ञानतो वापि स्त्रिया वा पुरुषेण वा ।
यत्किंचिदशुभं कर्म कृतं मानुषबुद्धिना ॥
तत्सर्वं नश्यते तस्य स्नातमात्रस्य भारत ।
अश्वमेधफलं चापि स्वर्गलोकं च गच्छति ॥ Mbh. III. 81, 123-124.
Padma P. I. 27, 32-33.

sins also go to heaven merely by taking a dip here—

तत्र स्नात्वा दिवं यान्ति अपि पापकृतो जनाः ।

Mbh. (Cr. Ed.) III. 81-129.

The sage Rushaṅgu knowing that his end was quite near came here leaving the bank of the Gaṅgā and uttered the benediction that whosoever dies in Pṛithūdaka while reciting prayers is not afflicted by death again—

सरस्वत्युत्तरे तीर्थे यस्त्यजेदात्मनस्तनुम् ।
पृथूदके जप्यपरो नैतस्य मरणं भवेत् ॥

Vām. P. XXXIX. 19.

It is said that Kurukshetra is holy, that the Sarasvatī is holier than Kurukshetra, that the united tīrthas are holier than the Sarasvatī and that Pṛithūdaka is holier than the united tīrthas—

पुण्यमाहुः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुक्षेत्रात्सरस्वतीम् ।
सरस्वत्याश्च तीर्थानि तीर्थेभ्यश्च पृथूदकम् ॥

Bbh. III. 81. 125.
Padma P. I. 27, 83-34.

It is the best of all the tīrthas, a su-tīrtha.

Its Minor Tirthas

There is a large number of places of pilgrimage in and around Pṛithūdaka, the more important of which have been mentioned in the following lines.

1. Agni tīrtha[10]
2. Apsarodaya tīrtha[11]
3. Aruṇā-saṅgama, situated on the confluence of the Sarasvatī with Aruṇā,[12] about 5 km. shouth-east ef Pehoa. A mound near the junction testifies to its antiquity.[13]

10. Mbh. III. 81, 119 ; Padma P. I. 27, 27.
11. See ASR XIV, p. 102 ; Vishṇu P. (ed. Wilson), p. 395 ; PP. I. 27, 27.
12. Mbh. III. 81, 131 ; IX. 43, 30-43 ; PP. I. 27, 39 ; Vām. P. XL. 43-45 ; Br. P. (II), IXV, 109.
13. CASR II, p. 102.

4. Avakīrṇa—here Dhṛitarāshṭra scattered jewels in order to appease the sage Baka Dālbhya who was performing a sacrifice to destroy the riches and glory of the former who had earlier insulted him.[14]

5. Ārshṭiṣheṇa Tirtha[15]

6. Āśvina Tīrtha[16]

7. Auśanasa Tīrtha—here Auśanasa (i. e., Śukra) got the status of a planet and the sage Rahodara got rid of the skull of a Rākshasa which had clung him in the neck. So it is known as Śukra tīrtha and Kapāla-Mochana also.[17]

8. Brahmayoni—It was here that Brahmā created the human beings in four classes. By taking a dip here one gets rid of birth after death.[18] According to the Mbh. and the Padma Purāṇa, a person who takes bath at Brahma-yoni attains Brahma-loka and sanctifies seven generations.[19]

9. Chatussamudra tīrtha.[20]

10. Devāpi tīrtha.[21]

11. Devī tīrtha[22]

12. Kapālamochana—See Ausanasa tīrtha above.

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14. Mbh. III 41, 1; 81-139 Vām. P. XXXIX, 24, 35; PP. I. 27, 41-45; Br. P. (II), LXV, 107.

15. Mbh. IX. 38, 22; 39, 3-9.

16. PP. I. 26, 15; Vām. P. 34, 31.

17. Mbh. III. 81, 116-118; IX. 38, 4-20; GP. LII, 6; PP. I. 27, 24-26. Vām. P. 3, 49-51; 32. 1-16; 42. 24-27; 39. 1-15; Br. P. II. 65. 105-6 and 121.

18. Vām. P. 39. 20-24.

19. तत्र स्नात्वा नरव्याघ्र ब्रह्मलोकं प्रपद्यते। पुनात्यासप्तमं चैव कुलं नास्त्य संशयः॥ Mbh. III. 81, 121 and PP. I. 27, 29-30.
Also see Mbh. IX. 40, 1; GP. 83, 24 & 30; PP. I. 26, 66; I. 27, 2; Br. P. II. 65. 61, 104 and 122; CASR II. p. 102.

20. PP I. 27, 44; Br. P. II. 65, 110; CASR II. p. 102.

21. Mbh. IX. 38, 32; 39, 10; CASR II. p. 102.

22. Mbh. III. 81, 131 & 137; PPI. 26, 93 & 27, 29; CASR II. p. 102.

13. Koṭi tīrtha[23]

14. Maṅkaṇaka Āśrama—The place of the old sage Maṅkaṇaka born of Sukanyā from the god Vāyu. Once by the wound of a Kuśa grass in his hand he saw śākarasa oozing from his hand and started dancing in pleasure. Śiva appeared before him and asked him the reason which he was told. Then Śiva showed him his hand from which bhasma fell constantly. The sage felt ashmed for his act and eulogised Śiva who gave him the boon that He will be ever-present in his hermitage.[24]

15. Madhusrava Tīrtha—It was here that the Sarasvati changed its waters into honey to gratify Nahusha's son Yayāti who performed hundred sacrifices on its banks. Ghṛitasrava and Dugdhasrava are two of its adjoining tīrthas. The Madhusravā nadī mentioned in Bṛihannāradīya Purāṇa, Uttarakhaṇḍa, 65.8 is probably the name of the Sarasvati near this tīrtha. Religious rites are performed here for the salvation of the departed souls. It finds mention in various Purāṇas [25]

16. Manojava Tīrtha—By taking a bath here, one gets the merit of the donation of one thousand cows.[26]

17. Mānusha Tīrtha—It was here that black deer, wounded by the arrows of hunters, had a dip in the pond and became human beings. It is said that a devoted person loses all his sins merely by its sight.

दर्शनात्तस्य तीर्थस्य मुक्तो भवति किल्बिषैः ।

The river Āpagā flowed one krośa east of it.[27]

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23. Mbh. III 80, 68 ; PP I. 12, 9 ; 17, 8ff ; 26, 14 & 95 ; Vam. P. 34, 28-30 ; Br. P. (II) LXV. 27-29, 90.

24. Mbh. III. 81, 97-115 : IX. 37, 34-49: pp. I. 27, 4ff; etc.

25. Br. p. II. 65, 108 ; pp. I. 27, 38 ; etc.

26. Mbh. III. 81, 78 ; pp. I. 26, 87 ; Br. p. II. 65, 82.

27. Vām. P. 35, 50-56 ; Br. P. II. 65, 57-58; PPI. 26, 60-63. It is interesting to note that M. L. Bhargava (The Geography of Rigvedic India, Lucknow, 1964, p. 32) sees a reference to this tīrtha in the RV. I. 128, 7 and III. 23, 4. He identifies it with modern Manas, situated about 5 km. north-west of Kaithal.

18. Pāpāntaka Tīrtha—Here Svāmī Kārttika got free from the sin of killing his brother. One gets rid of all one's sins and obtains the merit of a horse-sacrifice by taking a dip here—

तस्मिन्स्नातो नरो भक्त्या मुच्यते सर्वकिल्बिषैः ।
अश्वमेधस्य यज्ञस्य फलं प्राप्नोति मानवः ॥

19. Pṛithveśvara Tīrtha..[26]

20. Prāchī-Sarasvatī—The Sarasvatī flowed here in easterly direction. Nothing is inaccessible in the world and the next to those who perform sacrifice here—All the gods live in this tīrtha.[28]

21. Phalgu-tīrtha—It is important like the Gayā-tīrtha. All the tīrthas, oceans and streams of the earth visit it one day each in turn—

पृथिव्यां यानि तीर्थानि ये समुद्राः सरांसि च ।
फल्गुतीर्थं गमिष्यन्ति वारमेकं दिने दिने ॥
G. P. 53, 19

It is mentioned at various places.[30] It is identified with the modern Pheral village[31]

22. Rāma Tīrtha[32]

23. Rushaṅgu-Āśrama—It was here in the hermitage of Rushaṅgu that Ārshṭishena performed severe austerities and Viśvāmitra obtained Brahmarshihood. Rushaṅgu was brought to Pṛithudaka by Rāma before his death and it was here that he uttered the benediction that whosoever would die in Pṛithūdaka

28. CASR II. p. 102.
29. Br. P. II. 65, 120; GP 81, 5; Bh. P. VI. 8, 40; Vām. P. 42, 20; etc.
30. Mbh. III. 84, 98; 87. 12; GP. 52, 26; 83, 4, 16, 18-20 & 22; 84, 13-14 & 20; etc.
31. According to the tradition.
32. Mbh. IX. 49, 7-11; Bh. P.X. 84, 53; Br. P. II. 64, 14, 63, 47, GP 3 24 & 33; Vām. P. 2, 59-60; 35, 1-19.

while uttering his prayers would not be afflicted by death again.[33]

24. Sapta-Sārasvata tīrtha—where the river Sarasvatī flowed in seven streams. Here Maṅkaṇaka achieved perfection. It was visited by Balarāma and is considered to be the best of the holy places on the Sarasvatī.[34]

25. Sindhu-dvīpa Āśrama.[35]

26. Soma tīrtha—there are two tīrthas of this name. By taking a dip in one Soma tīrtha one attains the merit of a Rajasūya sacrifice and in the other, one attains the Soma-loka.[36]

27. Sthāṇu-Tīrtha—On the east bank of the Sarasvatī near the Vasishṭhāśrama where Lord Sthāṇu adored the Sarasvatī, sacrificed and established the tīrtha. Skanda was anointed as the head of the army here.[37]

28. Varāha tīrtha.[38]

29. Vasishṭhapīāchī Tīrtha—where Vasishṭha was saved by the Sarasvatī from being murdered by Viśvāmitra. It is also known as Vasishṭhā-pavāha tīrtha.[39]

30. Viśvāmitra Tīrtha—where Viśvāmitra attained Brahmana-ship by his severe austerities.[40] Now it is represented by a mound.

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33. Mbh. IX. 38, 23-29; Vām P. XXXIX. 19.
34. Mbh. III. 81, 97-115; IX. 37, 3ff; IX. 37, 34-49; Br. P. II. 65, 103-4; GP. 81, 5; PP. I. 27, 4ff; Vām. P. 38, 21-23; 47, 17-22; 57, 92; 62, 45. It is identified with modern Mangana village by local tradition.
35. Mbh. IX. 38, 32; 39, 10.
36. Mbh. III. 33, 19, 114-115 and 185; Br. P. II. 65, 103 and 111; PP. I. 2', 3 and 72
37. Mbh. IX. 42, 4-7; Vām. P. 40, 1-45; 42, 30; 45, 1-5; 47, 1-163; 48, 1-35; 49, 7, 51; 84, 18-19: 90, 17; etc.
38 Br. P. II. 65, 31; GP. 81, 15; PP. I. 26, 15-16; Vām. P. 34, 32. Cf. temple of Yajña-Varāha mentioned in the Garibnath temple inscription, E.I., I. pp. 184-90.
39. Mbh. III. 84, 140-1 : IX. 42 ; Br. P. II. 65, 108 ; GP. 83, 65.
40. Mbh. III. 81, 120 ; IX. 38, 22 and 32 ; 39, 11-31 ; Br. P. II. 65, 106 ; PP. I. 27, 28.

Besides these there are many more tīrthas of comparatively lesser importance in and around Pṛthūdaka.

ITS ARCHAEOLOGY

Being a very old holy place Pehoa is of great archaeological interest also. There are many old mounds in and around it and are indicative of its past glory. It has yielded a large number of antiquarian remains and many more are still coming to light.

The earliest remains of Pehoa are in the form of potsherds which were collected for the first time from the south-western quarter of the mound (on which the present town is situated) a few years back.[41] These potsherds are known to the archaeologists by the name of Painted Grey Ware and have been associated with the Aryan people. Painted Grey Ware has been put in the chronological limits of circa 1100-800 B. C. So it can very easily be presumed that Pehoa must have been founded some time during this period.

Next. are the terracotta reliefs[42] of the Gupta period and old bricks of large size. Mention should be made in particular to a terracotta plaque depicting some royal personage seated on a throne in the lalitāsana pose. The piece is interesting from the artistic view point.[43] Then come the epigraphical, sculptural and monumental remains of the medieval period. The undated Pehoa Praśasti of Mahendrapāl throws considerable light on the history of the region in the times of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāl.[44] It is now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. The Pehoa inscription, known as the Garibnath Temple Inscription, dated samvat 276 (=A. D. 882) refers to a horse-fair held at Pṛthūdaka and the construction of the temple of Yajña-Varāha there.[45] Pṛthūdaka must have been a famous commercial centre in the

41. B. B. Lal, 'Hastināpura Report', Ancient India, X-XI, p. 141.
42. See Spooner, ARASI, 1921-22, p. 47
43. Cunningham, ASR,, XIV, Plate XXVII & p. 101; Rai Agrawal, IHQ, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (Dec. 1955), pp. 213-14 and Archaeological Survey, Vol. XX, Nos. 2-3, pp. 163-64.
44. G. Buhler, E. I., I (1892), pp. 242-50.
45. Ibid., pp. 184-90.

days. Both the above-mentioned inscriptions were brought to light first by Cunningham nearly a hundred years ago.[46] Amongst the sculptural remains important are a carved doorway[47] (now fixed in a modern Sarasvatī temple on the bank of the Sarasvatī), a carved pillar and on old "gorgoyle."[48] Cunningham noticed the remains of a medieval temple on Viśvāmitra's mound (locally known as Viśvāmitra Kā Ṭīlā).[49]

Some time back, some more sculptures of the medieval period were discovered.[50] These include the figures of Brahmā-Sarasvatī, Śiva-Pārvatī, Yama, a lion, etc. Some stray āmalakas and carved portions of pillars were also noticed. The figures of Brahmā-Sarasvatī, Śiva-Pārvatī and the lion are now lying in the Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology of the Kurukshetra University, Kurkshetra.

The old temples of Pehoa were destroyed by the Muslims and the present ones which we see now were got constructed by the Marathas when they held sway over this region before the English occupied it.

We thus see that Pehoa has been an important tīrtha of India since times immemorial and has remained in continuous habitation to the present day. Even now, at the time of annual fair thousands of persons from all over India come here to have a holy dip in the Sarasvtī and get rid of all their sins.

46. CASR II, pp. 224-26; XIV, pp. 101-2 and 131-2.
47. Ibid.; C. J. Rodgers, Report of the Punjab Circle of Archaeological Survey, Calcutta, 1891, pp. 15-17.
48. Ibid.; Agrawal, IHQ (March 1956), pp. 33-34.
49. Cunningham, op. cit.
50. Devendra Handa, "Pehowa—An Ancient Holy Place", Advance, Jan.-March, 1966, pp. 28-29.

IN MEMORIAM

Dr. Panna Lal

The Board of Trustees of the All-India Kashiraj Trust places on record its deep sorrow at the demise on 29th May, 1967 of Dr. Panna Lal, Retd. I. C. S., C. S. I., C. I. E., M. A., B. Sc., LL. B., D. Litt., Ph. D., Bar-at Law. He was one of the First Trustees of the Trust nominated by the Government of India on 24th April, 1956 when the Trust was founded under the aegies of the Government.

After a brilliant career at Allahabad University where he took a triple first in Arts, Science and Law, he was called to the bar at Gray's Inn London and stood first in the Indian Civil Service Examination.

He had a distinguished record of successful administration and was greatly respected in the Government and he retired in 1944 while serving as Advisor to the Governor of Uttar Pradesh. In early 1930 Lord Lothian, Chairman of the Franchise Committee commented about the memorandum on the Franchise problem prepared by Dr. Panna Lal as "ablest of its kind produced in the country."

Inspite of his strenuous duties in service he could keep up his scholarly persuits and was a scholar of Sanskrit and an authority on ancient Indian history and numismatics. Hindu philosophy and theology were his favourite subjects.

He was posted as Commissioner of Benares once in 1931 and again in 1935 and in this capacity he held the office of the Political Agent of the Benares State and was closely connect with the Darbar.

He was a great devotee of Mata Anandmayee and in h. ater days he mostly spent his time in deep meditation and passed away at the ripe old age of 84,

We all pray that God may grant him eternal peace.

Ramesh Chandra De

ACTIVITIES OF THE ALL INDIA KASHIRAJ TRUST
(JANUARY–JUNE, 1967)

VĀMANA PURĀṆA WORK

I. *Critical Edition* :

The Critical text of the Vāmana Purāṇa has been constituted primarily on the basis of the collation of twenty Manuscripts, i. e. 4 Kashmirian MSS., 3 Bengali MSS., 10 Devanāgarī MSS. of Northern India, and 3 South Indian MSS. (One Devanāgarī MS. from the Adyar Library, One Nandīnāgarī MS. from the Sṛṇgerī Maṭha, and one Telugu MS. from the Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras,)

Of these, the Kashmirian MS. No. 4012 (Steine Catalogue) procured from Shri Raghunath Sanskrit Library, Jammu, through the kind courtesy of Dr. Karan Singh, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, contains a very valuable Sanskrit commentary on the Vāmana Purāṇa by the Kashmirian Paṇḍita, Rama Chandra Bhatta. It is the only known and available Sanskrit commentary on the Vāmana Purāṇa. It lucidly explains difficult portions of the text, and also mentions some variants.

WORK ON THE OTHER PURĀṆAS :

Svalpa Matsya Purāṇa :

As has been mentioned previously it is being critically edited under the direction of Dr. V. Raghavan on the basis of an Assamese MS. and a London MS. Uptil now ten chapters have been published in the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. The next eight chapters (11-18) are being published in this July issue of the 'Purāṇa'. Further chapters are being edited, and will be published in several instalments.

The work of the collation of the Kūrma Purāṇa MSS. has been suspended for the time being, for all our staff is engaged in the Vāmana Purāṇa work.

सर्वभारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य कार्यविवरणम्

(जनवरी—जून, १९६७ ई०)

वामनपुराणकार्यम्

समीक्षात्मकं संस्करणम् :

वामनपुराणस्य समीक्षात्मकः पाठो मुख्यतया विंशतिहस्तलेखान् पञ्चमहाशाखाश्रित्य निर्धारितो वर्तते । तेच हस्तलेखाः ४ काश्मीरलिपिबद्धाः, ३ मैथिल, १० उत्तरभारतीय देवनागरीहस्तलेखाः, ३ दक्षिण भारतीयाः, एको देवनागरीलिपिबद्धः अड्यारपुस्तकालयाद्, एका नन्दीनागरीलेखः, एका च तेलुगुलेख मद्रास गवर्नमेन्ट ओरियन्टल हस्तलिपिपुस्तकालयतः ।)

एतेषु काश्मीरहस्तलेखः ४०१२ संख्याकः (स्टीनकैटलॉग) श्रीनगरस्थ संस्कृत पुस्तकालयाद् उपलब्धः तत्रभवतः काश्मीरनरेश डा० कर्णसिंहमहाराजस्य कृपावशात् । पण्डितरामचन्द्रभट्टकृतया संस्कृतटीकया च एषः समन्वितः वर्तते । वामनपुराणस्य संस्कृतटीका चैषा एका एव प्राप्यते । अत्र कठिना अंशाः सरलतया व्याख्याताः, केचित् पाठभेदा अपि यत्र तत्र निर्दिष्टाः सन्ति

अन्यपुराणकार्यम्

स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणम्

पूर्वमेव यथा सूचितं, पुराणमेतत् डा० वी. राघवन् महानुभावेन आनन्दनहस्तलेखयोः आधारेण समालोच्य सम्पाद्यते । इतः पूर्वमस्य दश-अध्यायाः 'पुराण' पत्रिकायां प्रकाशिताः सन्ति । अन्ये च ११-१८ अध्यायाः अस्मिन् जुलाई अंके प्रकाश्यन्ते । अवशिष्टा अपरे चाध्यायाः क्रमशः 'पुराण' पत्रिकायां प्रकाशयिष्यन्ते ।

कूर्मपुराणस्य हस्तलेखानां संवादकार्यं साम्प्रतं प्रायेण अवरुद्धमेव, अतो वयं सर्वे सर्वथा वामनपुराणप्रकाशनकार्ये व्यापृताः स्म ।

THE 'PURĀṆA' BULLETIN

The 'Purāṇa' Bulletin is regularly and punctually published each year on every Vasanta Paṇchamī (January-February) and Vyāsa Pūrṇimā (July). With this July issue the 'Purāṇa' completes nine years of its publication. The nine yearly volumes consist of more than 3500 pages, and contain about 200 articles on various Purāṇic topics, written by Indian and foreign Indologists interested in the Purāṇic study and research.

We are glad to mention that the Government of India has approved the nomination of Dr. L. Sternbach, United Nations, New York, as Honorary Member of the Editorial Board of the 'Purāṇa' by the All India Kashiraj Trust. He has been a regular contributor to the 'Purāṇa' Bulletin. His learned articles have appeared in several issues of the 'Purāṇa'. We welcome him to our Editorial Board and hope that we will be receiving his advice and active co-operation.

VEDA PĀRĀYAṆA

During the bright half (Śukla-pakṣa) of the last Māgha (January) month the *pārāyaṇa* by memory of the Śākala-Śākhā of the Ṛgveda was arranged in the Vyāsa temple of the Ramnagar Fort. The reciter was Pt. Kesava Sitarama Joglekar of Mysore State. The Pārāyaṇa was very successful and at the end of it the reciter was presented a certificate of merit and the usual Dakṣiṇā with the *Ratna-Kaṅkaṇa*

PURĀṆA PĀṬHA AND PRAVACANA

The Pāṭha and pravacana of the following Purāṇas were arranged :—

(1) Devī-Bhāgavata, from 10. 2. 67 to 18. 2. 67 in the Sumeru temple of Ramnagar. The discourses on it were given by Pt. Visvanatha Sastri Datar of Varanasi.

(2) Vāmana Purāṇa, from 27. 2. 67 to 9. 3. 67 in the Dharmaśālā on the bank of the Gaṅgā. The discourses on it were given by Prof. Baldeva Upadhyaya of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University.

'पुराण' पत्रिकासम्बन्धिकार्याणि

'पुराण' पत्रिकायाः प्रकाशनं यथाकालं निरन्तरं प्रतिवर्षं वसन्तपञ्चम्यां (जनवरी-फरवरी) व्यासपूर्णिमायां (जुलाई) च जायते। इदानीं जुलाई अङ्केन सहैव अस्याः नवमं नर्षं पूर्णतां याति। पुराणपत्रिकायाः नवानां वर्षाणां द्वयोः भागयोः पृष्ठाङ्काः ३५०० तोऽपि अधिकाः सन्ति, तथा पुराणविषयाध्ययने शोधकार्ये च विशेषेण अभिनिविष्टैः प्राच्यविद्यानिष्णातैर्भारतीयैर्वैदेशिकैश्च विद्वद्भिः पौराणिकविषयमधिकृत्य विरचितानां लेखानां संख्यापि शतद्वयं भवति।

एषः हि अस्माकं प्रसन्नतायाः विषयः यत् काशिराजन्यासेन प्रस्तावितं संयुक्तराष्ट्रीयस्य डा० एल० स्टर्नबैकमहाभागस्य नाम 'पुराण' पत्रिकायाः सम्पादक मण्डलस्य सदस्यरूपेण भारतीयशासनेन स्वीकृतमिति। अस्य महानुभावस्य 'पुराण' पत्रिकायां अनेके लेखाः प्रकाशिताः सन्ति। एतस्य महानुभावस्य पुराणपत्रिकासम्पादकमण्डलसदस्यतां वयमभिनन्दयामः, आशास्महे च सदैवास्य परामर्शः सक्रियश्च सहयोगः सम्प्राप्स्यत इति।

वेदपारायणम्।

माघमासस्य (जनवरी) शुक्लपक्षे ऋग्वेदस्य शाकलशाखायाः स्मृत्या कण्ठस्थं पारायणं रामनगरस्थे व्यासमन्दिरे व्यवस्थापितम् आसीत्। पारायणकर्ता च पं० केशव सीताराम जोग्लेकरः (मैसूरराज्यस्य) आसीत्। पारायणं पूर्णतः सफलम् जातम् समाप्ते सति पारायणकर्त्ता विशेषयोग्यतायाः प्रमाणपत्रप्रदानेन समादृतोऽभूत्, रत्नकङ्कणयुतया सुनिश्चितदक्षिणया च।

पुराणपाठः प्रवचनञ्च

अधोलिखितपुराणानां पाठस्य प्रवचनस्य च व्यवस्था कृताः—

(१) देवीभागवतम्। पाठः रामनगरस्थसुमेरमन्दिरे १०-२-६७ तः १८-२-६७ यावत् संजातः। वाराणस्याः श्री पं० विश्वनाथ शास्त्री दातारः प्रवक्ता आसीत्। (२) वामनपुराणम्। पाठः प्रवचनञ्च गंगातटस्थ धर्मशालायां सम्पन्नम्। पं० श्रीबल्देव उपाध्यायः (वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य) प्रवचनकर्त्ता आसीत्।

(3) Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, from 10. 4. 67 to 18. 4. 67 in Janakpura temple of Ramnagar. The discourses on it were given by post-Acharya Pt. Ramalaksmanacharya of Varanasi.

Besides, the *pārāyaṇa* and the *kathā* of the Rāmacarita-Mānasa of Gosvāmī Tulasīdāsa was arranged as usual from 11. 5. 67 to 19. 5. 67 in the Kālī temple at Chakia, a place about 20 miles from Ramnagar, where the gathering was in thousands. At the close of the *pārāyaṇa* and the *kathā* the *Udyāpana* ceremony was duly performed and the *prasāda* was distributed.

Meeting of the Purāṇa-Committee

A meeting of the Purāṇa-Committee of the All-India Kashiraj Trust was held in the Ramnagar Fort on Dec. 30, 31, 1966, under the Chairmanship of His Highness Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh. It was attended by Dr. R. K. Sharma, Education Ministry, Govt. of India, and Dr. S. N. Sastri, the former Vice-Chancellor of the Varanaseya Sanskrit University. Pt. Visvanatha Sastri Datar and Pt. Harirama Sukla, the two Sanskrit scholars of Varanasi, were also invited.

Certain principles of constituting the text of the Vāmana Purāṇa and the question of its extent were discussed. The Editor, Sri Anand Swarup Gupta, explained these principles and placed before the scholars some constituted readings as way of illustrations. Some of the readings were discussed. As regards the extent of the Vāmana Purāṇa text Dr. S. N. Sastri and the two learned Pandits were of opinion that its extent should be the same as that of the text of the Veṅkaṭeśvara printed edition, because according to the Nāradīya Purāṇa the extent of the *Pūrva-bhāga* of the Vāmana Purāṇa text (which only is now available) as represented by the vulgate is 6,000 ślokas. They did not favour the omission of the 27 Adhyāyas of the Saro-māhātmya which are all omitted in the Bengali and the South Indian MSS, from the main text of the Vāmana Purāṇa. Dr. R. K. Sharma, however, was of opinion that the Manuscript evidence should also be taken into consideration.

We are thankful to these scholars for their co-operation in discussions.

(३) अध्यात्मरामायणम् । रामनगरस्य जनकपुर मन्दिरे वाराणस्याः रामलक्ष्मणाचार्यैः प्रवचनादिकं १०-४-६७ तः १८-४-६७ यावत् कृतम् ।

अन्यच्च, गोस्वामी तुलसीदासविरचितरामचरितमानसस्य पारायणं कथा च सामान्यतः ११-५-६७ तः १९-५-६७ यावत् रामनगरतः दंसक्रोशान्तरे चकियाक्षेत्रस्थे कालीमन्दिरे सम्पादिताऽभूत्, यत्र सहस्रशः श्रोतारः संघटिता अभवन् । समाप्तिदिवसे उद्यापनमहोत्सवः यथावत् सम्पन्नः, प्रसादश्चान्ते वितरितः ।

पुराणसमित्या अधिवेशनम्

महाराज काशिराज डा० विभूतिनारायण सिंहसाभाप्त्ये रामनगरदुर्गे अखिल भारतीयकाशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणसमित्या अधिवेशनं गत दिसम्बरमासस्य ३० तिथौ, ३१ तिथौ च नियोजिता आसीत् । अस्यां सम्मिलितौ अभूतां शिक्षासचिवालयस्य (भारतीय शासनाधिकारी) डा० आर० के० शर्मा, वाराणसेय संस्कृत विश्वविद्यालयस्य भूतपूर्व उपकुलपतिः डा० सुरेन्द्रनाथ शास्त्री च, संस्कृतविद्वांसौ वाराणस्याः पं० विश्वनाथशास्त्री दातारः, पं० हरीराम शुक्लश्च निमन्त्रितौ उपस्थितौ चास्ताम् ।

तत्र वामनपुराणस्य पाठनिर्धारणविषये केचित् सिद्धान्ताः विवेचिताः । इमे सिद्धान्ताः श्रीवामनपुराणसंस्करणसंपादकेन आनन्दस्वरूप गुप्तमहोदयेन व्याख्याताः, उदाहरणार्थं कतिचित् निर्धारितपाठाश्च विदुषां समक्षे विचारार्थं प्रस्तुताः, केचित् तत्र विचारिताश्च । डा० एस० एन० शास्त्री, द्वौ च पण्डित विद्वांसौ एतत्पुराणस्य श्लोकसंख्याविषये स्वमतानि प्रकटितवन्तः यत् नारदीयपुराणवर्णनानुसारेण वामनपुराणस्य पूर्वभागे षट्सहस्रं श्लोकाः भवितुमर्हन्ति, इत्थं वेंकटेश्वर संस्करणमेव प्रमाणतः ग्राह्यं भवेत्, तथा च सरोमाहात्म्यस्य २७ अध्याया अपि ग्राह्याः भवन्तु इति । यद्यपि बंगला-दक्षिणभारतीयहस्तलेखेषु मुख्यपाठे अध्याया इमे अगृहीताः सन्ति । अपरश्च डा० आर० के० शर्मा तु हस्तलेखानामपि प्रमाण्यं सुविचार्य ग्राह्यं भवेदिति स्वमतं प्रकटितवान् ।

एतान् विदुषः प्रति तेषाम् उपयोगिविचाराय सहयोगाय च वयं कृतज्ञाः स्म ।

VISIT OF THE JAGADGURU SRI SANKARACHARYA OF SRINGERI

His Holiness Jagadguru Sri Sankaracharya of the Śāradā Pīṭha, Sṛingerī Maṭha, Mysore, visited the Ramnagar Fort in the evening of May 3 on the occasion of his visit to Varanasi. His Highness Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singh welcomed the distinguished guest. His Highness also performed the *pāda pūjā* of the *Pādukās* (Sandals) with the help of the Pandits of the Sṛingerī Maṭha. Pt. Rajesvara Sastri was also present. After the Pāda-pūja the *prasāda* was distributed and blessings were given by His Holiness. His Holiness was also pleased to bless the young Mahārājakumār who was in his *Brahmacāri-vesha*, whose *Yajñopavīta* ceremony had been performed a few months before.

The Kashiraj Trust presented a set of its twelve publications to His Holiness as a mark of respect. In his letter of June 17, 1967 the Private Secretary to His Holiness acknowledges the receipt of these publications and further writes that 'His Holiness is immensely glad to find that the Purāṇa Department of the Kashiraj Trust has done very useful work'.

The Nandī-Nāgarī Manuscript of the Vāmana-Purāṇa was procured by us from the Śṛingerī Maṭha Library. The Trust is very much grateful to His Holiness for his generous help and co-operation, and hopes that the same will be available to the Trust in future also.

DISTINGUISHED VISITORS AND GUESTS :

Dr. Juan Roger Rivieri Professor of Indology, Madrid University, Spain, and Mrs. Rivieri visited the Purāṇa Department on January 6, 1967 and appreciated its work.

Dr. H. Von Stietencron, South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany, also visited the Purāṇa Department. He writes 'The Trust is doing most useful work, which is specially important for every scholar dealing with Purāṇic studies.'

शारदापीठस्य जगद्गुरु श्रीशंकराचार्याणां समागमनम्

महोदयाः शृंगेरीमठस्थशारदापीठस्य श्रीशंकराचार्याः स्ववाराणसीयात्राक्रमे रामनगरदुर्गेऽपि मई ३ दिनाङ्के समागताः, स्वागतं च तेषां काशिराज डा० विभूतिनारायणसिंह द्वारा विशेषातिथिरूपेण कृतम्। शृंगेरिमठस्य पण्डितानां सहयोगेन काशिराजेनापि पादुकयोः पादपूजा विहिता। तस्मिन्काले पं राजेश्वर शास्त्रिणोऽपि उपस्थिता आसन्। पादपूजायाः अनन्तरं प्रसादवितरणं जातम्, आशीर्वादाश्च काशिराजाय प्रदत्ताः। ब्रह्मचारिवेषधारिणे कृतयज्ञोपवीताय (मासान्पूर्वं) शिशवे महाराजकुमाराय आशीर्वादान् दत्वा अति प्रसन्नाः बभूवुः श्रीशंकराचार्याः।

काशिराजन्यासः स्वप्रकाशितान् द्वादशग्रन्थान् जगद्गुरु श्रीशंकराचार्याय बहुमानप्रदर्शनपुरःसरं समर्पितवान्। श्रीशंकराचार्यस्य व्यक्तिगत सचिवमोदय १७ जूनतिथौ प्रेषिते पत्रे प्रकाशनप्राप्तिमङ्गीकरोति, लिखति च "श्रीशंकराचार्य महोदयाः काशिराजन्यासस्य पुराणविभागद्वारा सम्पाद्यमानं उपयोगिनं कार्यं दृष्ट्वा अत्यन्तं मोदमनुभवन्ति' इति।

शृंगेरिमठादेव अस्माभिः वामनपुराणस्य नन्दीनागरीलेखः समुपलब्धः। श्रीशंकराचार्यकृतसहायतायै सहयोगार्थं च न्यासः कृतज्ञतां अभिव्यनक्ति, आशास्ते च भविष्येऽपि तादृक् एव सहायादिकं दास्यते।

विशिष्टा अतिथयः दर्शकाश्च

अस्मिन् वर्षे जनवरीमासस्य षष्ठतिथौ माद्रिद् (स्पेन) विश्वविद्यालयस्य भारतीय विद्याविभागाध्यक्षो श्री ज्वान रोजर रिवीरि महाशयः, तथा ओस्लो विश्वविद्यालयस्य महाशयाऽपि पुराणविभागं दृष्टवन्तौ, प्रशंसितवन्तौ च कार्यजातमस्य।

डा० एच० वान स्टीटेन्क्रोन जर्मनीदेशस्य हेडेलबर्ग विश्वविद्यालये दक्षिण एशिया संस्थायाः अधिकारी पुराणविभागमत्र दृष्टवान्। अयं लिखति "न्यासोऽयं महद् उपयोगि कार्यं करोति, शोधकार्यसंलग्नानां पुराणानामध्ययने दत्तचित्तानां विदुषां कृते एतत्सर्वं विशेषेण उपयोगाय कल्पते इति।

The following distinguished persons were the guests of His Highness Maharaja Vibhuti Narain Singh who were acquainted with the activities of the Trust and were presented the latest volume of the Purāṇa bulletin and other presentation pamphlets :—

1. Dr. Juan Roger Rivieri Professor of Indology, Madrid University, Spain and Mrs. Rivieri.
2. Shri Gaj Raj Singh, I.A.S. ; Managing Deputy Director, Tourism.
3. Shri M.C. Desai ; Chief Justice, Allahabad High Court.
4. Dr. C. D. Deshmukh, and Shrimati Deshmukha.
5. Shri V. Jha, Foreign Secretary, Govt. of India, New Delhi.
6. Shri S. C. Datt ; Prof., Mayo College, Ajmer.

The South Indian Tourist Beureau

The tourist office of the Trust is working as usual and this year about 575 pilgrims were attended to. The Trust has also arranged for the fecility of accomodation for the pilgrims to perform Śrāddha ceremony at their Shivala House and many pilgrims who visited Varanasi availed of this fecility.

A Kīrtan party of about 200 persons visited Varanasi and were accomodated at Shivala House. They arranged for their Kīrtanas (devotional songs) for the general public and there was a good response from the Public of Banaras.

During this period we lost the Librarian of our Purāṇa Dept., Shri Ranganath Pandey, whose sad and untimely demise occured on May 1. He was a very sincere and silent worker. We pray for the peace of the departed soul.

अद्योनिर्दिष्टाः विशिष्टा जनाः स्ववाराणस्यागमनप्रसङ्गे महाराज काशिनरेशस्य अतिथयोऽभवन्, काशिराजन्यासस्य कार्याणां च परिचयं अलभन्त, पुराणपत्रिकायाः अन्तिमो अंकः अन्यानि च देयानि पत्राणि तेभ्यः समर्पितानि :—

१. डा० जुअन रोजर रीविरो, विभागाध्यक्षः भारतीयविद्यायाः, मद्रिद विश्वविद्यालयस्य (स्पेन), श्रीमती रीविरो महोदया च सहचारिणी अभवत्।

२. श्रीगजराज महोदयः, आइ. ए. एस. मैनेजिंग डिप्टी डाइरेक्टर टूरिज्म।

३. श्री एम. सी. देशाई महोदयः, चीफ जस्टिस, इलाहाबाद हाईकोर्ट।

४. डा. सी. डी. देशमुखः, श्रीमती देशमुखमहोदया च।

५. श्री वी. झा महानुभावः, विदेशसचिवालयस्य गवर्नमेन्ट आफ इण्डिया, देहली।

६. श्री एस. सी. दत्त महाशयः, प्रोफेसर, मेयो कालेज, अजमेर।

दक्षिणभारतीय—यात्रिविभागः

काशिराजन्यासस्य यात्रिविभागः सामान्यतः प्रचलति। अस्मिन् वर्षे प्रायः ५७५ यात्रिण अत्र उपस्थिता अभवन्। श्राद्धसंस्कारोद्देश्येन काश्यां समागतानां यात्रिणां निवासाय न्यासेन शिवालाभवने प्रबन्धः कृतः। एतेन बहवश्च यात्रिणः लाभान्विताः बभूवुः।

कीर्तन मण्डलं २०० व्यक्तीनां अत्र समागच्छत् शिवाला भवने च न्यवसत्। साधारणजनतायै तैः कीर्तनादिकं व्यवस्थापितमासीत, काशीवासिनां उपस्थितिश्च तत्र प्राचुर्येण समभवत्।

अत्रान्तरे पुराणाविभागस्य पुस्तकालयाधिकारिणः श्रीरंगनाथपाण्डेयस्य अकाले स्वर्गवासः मईमासस्य १ तिथौ संजातः, सुयोग्यतमः असौ विश्वसनीयः कार्यकुशलः सर्वेषां प्रीतिभाजनमभवत्। तस्य आत्मनः शान्त्यै वयं प्रार्थयामः।

अन्य—

[1]मासि मासि च रेवत्यां ब्राह्मणान् घृतपायसान् ।
सदक्षिणं भोजयित्वा रूपभागभिजायते ॥ १ ॥
कृत्तिकासु महाभागाः पायसेन ससर्पिषा ।
सन्तर्प्य ब्राह्मणान् साधून् लोकानाप्नोत्यनुत्तमान् ॥ २ ॥
रोहिण्यां प्रथितैर्मा (मां) सैर्मार्गै[2] र्याम्येन[3] (१)सर्पिषा ।
पयोऽन्नपानं दातव्यमानृण्यार्थं द्विजातये ॥ ३ ॥
दोग्ध्रीं दत्वा सवत्सां तु नक्षत्रे सोमदैवते ।
स गच्छेन्मानुषाल्लोकात् स्वर्गवासमनुत्तमम् ॥ ४ ॥
आर्द्रायां कृषरं दत्वा तिलमिश्रमुपोषितः ।
नरस्तरति दुर्गाणि क्षुरधारांश्च पर्वतान् ॥ ५ ॥
[4]पुनर्वसौ यवान्[5] दत्वा तथैव द्रोणि[6] शोभने ।
यशस्वी रूपसंपन्नो बहुले[7] जायते कुले ॥ ६ ॥

१. स्व. म. ११. १ = च. चि. पृ. ८८१. प. ५, ६; कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४१ प. ६, ७.
,, ,, ,, २—५ = म. भा. १३, ९९.५-८.
वि. धर्मो. ३. ३१८. २-५.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४१. प. ९ to २४२. ४.
च. चि. पृ. ८७६ प. ६ to १४.

२. मार्गैः मृगसंबन्धिभिः मांसैः ।

३. 'याम्येन'—अस्फुटोऽर्थः । म. भा., वि°. धर्मो°, च. चिः—'अग्नेन' इति पाठः । कृ. क. 'यत्नेन' इति ।

४. स्व. म. ११-६—१०. = च. चि. पृ. ८७६. प. १५
,, ८७७ ,, ८.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४२. प. ५—१४.
वि. धर्मो. ३. ३१८. ६—१०.
म. भा. १३.९९. ९—१३

५. यवस्थाने पूपान् अपूपानिति म. भारते, कृ. कल्पतरौ, वि° धर्मो°, च. चि. ।

६. द्रोणि इति दुष्टः शब्दः पाठश्च । 'अन्नानि' इति पूर्वोद्दिष्टेषु ग्रन्थेषु ।

७. 'बह्वन्ने' इति कृ. क.; च. चि. पाठः ।

पुण्ये तु कनकं दत्वा कृतं चाकृतमेव च ।
अनालोकेषु लोकेषु सोमवासे[८] विराजते ॥ ७ ॥

आश्लेषायां तु यो रौप्यं वृषभं वा प्रयच्छति ।
स सर्वभयनिर्मुक्तः शास्त्रवानभिजायते ॥ ८ ॥

मघासु तिलपूर्णानि वर्धमानानि मानवः ।
प्रदाय पुत्रपशुमान् नित्यं प्रेत्य प्रमोदते ॥ ९ ॥

फाल्गुने पूर्वसमये ब्राह्मणं समुपोषितम् ।
[९]भक्त्यान्नपानसंयुक्तं कृत्वा सौख्यं स गच्छति ॥ १० ॥

[१०]घृतक्षीरसमायुक्तं द्विवर्ष[११]षष्टिकोदनम्[१२] ।
उत्तराविषये दत्वा स्वर्गलोके महीयते ॥ ११ ॥

यद्यत्प्रदीयते दानमुत्तराविषयेण वै ।
महाफलमनन्तं च भवतीति विनिश्चयः ॥ १२ ॥

हस्ते हस्तिरथं[१३] दत्वा चतुर्भोज[१४]मुपोषितः ।
प्राप्नोति परमाँल्लोकान् पुण्यकाल[१५]समन्वितान् ॥ १३ ॥

८. 'सोमवत् स' इति समीचीनः पाठः पूर्वोद्दिष्टेषु ग्रन्थेषु ।
९. 'भक्त्या' इत्यस्य स्थले 'भक्ष्य' इति सर्वत्र ।
१०. स्व. म. ११. ११—१५ = च. चि. पृ. ८७७. प. ९ to
,, ८७८. ,, २.
कृ. क. पृ. २४३. प. १—१२.
वि. धर्मो. ३. ३१८. ११—१५.
म. भा. १३—९९. १४—१८.
११. 'विधिवत्' इति अन्यत्र पाठः । किंतु द्विवर्षशब्दोऽपि साधुः, वर्षत्रयाभिरक्षितान् शालीन् लक्षयति ।
१२. षष्टिदिनैः पच्यमानाः शालयः षष्टिकाः ।
१३. हस्तियुक्तं रथम् ।
१४. 'चतुर्युक्तम्' इत्यन्यत्र । कृ. कल्पतरौ, च. चि. 'चतुर्भिः हस्तिभिः संयुक्तमित्यर्थो दत्तः ।'
१५. 'काम' इति म. भारते शुद्धः पाठः ।

चित्रायामूषभं[16] दत्वा पुण्यान् गन्धांश्च वै मधु ।
चरत्यप्सरसां लोके वसते वत्सरान् शतान् ॥ १४ ॥

स्वात्यां चैव धेनुं[17] दत्वा यदिष्टमिष्टमात्मनः ।
प्राप्नोति लोकांश्च शुभानिह चैव महद्यशः ॥ १५ ॥

[18]विशाखायामनड्वाहं धेनुं दत्वा च दुःखहाम्[19] ।
सम्(प्रा)सङ्गं[20] च शकटं सधान्य (न्यं)वस्त्रसंयुतम् ॥ १६ ॥

पितॄन् देवांश्च प्रीणाति प्रेत्य चामृतमश्नुते ।
अनुराधासु प्रावारं वस्त्रोत्तरमुपोषितः ॥
दत्वा युगशतं वापि नरः स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ १७ ॥

कालशाकं च विप्रेभ्यो दत्वा मर्त्यः समूलकम् ।
ज्येष्ठायां शिष्टमिष्टं[21] वा गतिमिष्टां स गच्छति ॥ १८ ॥

मृगे(मूले)तु मूलकं दत्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्यः समाहितः ।
पितॄन् सम्यं प्रीणयति गतिमिष्टां स गच्छति ॥ १९ ॥

अथवा पूर्वाषाढासु दधिपात्राण्युपोषितः ।
कुलवृत्तोपसंपन्ने ब्राह्मणे वेदपारगे ॥ २० ॥

१६. 'वृषभम्' इति सर्वत्र । पूर्वापरसङ्गत्या च स एव समीचीनः पाठः ।

१७. 'धनम्' इति सर्वत्र साधुः पाठः ।

१८. स्व. म. ११. १६-२० = च. चि. पृ. ८७८. प. ३—१६.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४३. प. १३ to
२४४ ,, ६.
वि. धर्मो. ३. ३१८. १६—२२.
म. भा. १३. ६६. १६—२५.

१९. 'दुग्धदाम्' इति सर्वत्र ।

२०. प्रासङ्गः द्वितीयं युगकाष्ठम् ।

२१. 'ऋद्धिमिष्टां' इति म. भा., वि. धर्मो । 'मृत्युमुत्साद्य' इति च. चि ।

[22]प्रदाय जायते प्राज्ञः कुलेषु बहुशो (?) कुले[23] ।
उद [क] सक्तुं ससर्पिष्कं प्रभूतं मधुफाणितम् ॥ २१ ॥
दत्वा चोत्तराषाढासु सर्वान् लोकानवाप्नोति (?)[24] ।
श्रवणे कम्बलं दत्वा वस्त्रान्तरितमेव च ॥ २२ ॥
एतेन याति दानेन[25] सर्वलोकान् समुद्धृतान्[26] ।
गोप्रयुक्तं धनिष्ठासु यानं दत्वा समाहितः ॥ २३ ॥
[27]वस्त्ररश्मिधरश्चैव स तु राज्यं समश्नुते ।
दुग्धान्(गन्धान्)शतभिषा योगे दत्वा सागरुचन्दनान् ॥२४॥
प्राप्नोति परमान् लोकान् प्रेत्य दुग्धांश्च(गन्धांश्च)शाश्वतान् ।
पूर्वभाद्रपदा योगे राजमाषान् प्रदापयेत् ॥ २५ ॥
[28]सर्वभक्ष्यरसोपेतः सर्वः(सर्वै)प्रेत्य सुखी भवेत् ।

२२. स्व. म. ११. २१—२५ = च. चि. पृ. ८७८. प. १६ to
" ८७६. " १३.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४४. प. १० to
२४५ " ६
वि. धर्मो. ३. ३१८. २३—२८.
म. भा. १३. ६६. २६—३१.

२३. अत्र विविधः पाठः । म. भारते 'कुले सबहुगोधने'; वि. धर्मो. 'कुले स बहुगोकुले'; कृ. कल्प, च. चि, 'कुले बहुगुणाकुले' इति ।

२४. अत्र अभिजिद्विषयकः श्लोकः अधिकतया म. भा., कृ. क., च. चि., वि. धर्मो. च दृश्यते ।

२५. 'श्वेतेन याति यानेन' इति सर्वत्र ।

२६. 'असंवृत्तान्' 'सुसंयतान्' इति अन्यत्र ।

२७. 'वस्त्रराशिधनम्' म. भारतपाठ उपादेयो भाति । अन्यत्र प्रायो विविधोऽपपाठः ।

२८. स्व. म. ११. २६—२८ = च. चि. पृ. ८७६. प. १४ to
८८०. " २.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४५. प. ७—१५.
वि. धर्मो. ३. ३१८. २६—३२.
म. भा. १३. ६६. ३२—३५.
स्व. म. ११. २६, ३० = च. चि. पृ. ६७६. प. १३—१६.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४६. ३—६.

[28]प्रवृत्ते तूत्तरायोगे[30] यस्तु मांसं प्रयच्छति ॥ २६ ॥
[31][स पितॄन् प्रीणयति वै प्रेत्य चानन्त्यमश्नुते ।
[32]कांस्योपदोहनां धेनुं रेवत्यां यः प्रयच्छति ।]
स प्रेत्य मांसान्(कामान्)आदाय दातारमुपगच्छति ॥२७॥

रथमश्वसमायुक्तं दत्वाश्विन्यां नरोत्तमः ।
हस्त्यश्वरथसंपन्ने धर्मिष्ठे जायते कुले ॥ २८ ॥

भरणीषु द्विजातिभ्यः नीलां[33] धेनुं समर्पयेत् ।
गां च प्रसूतामाप्नोति नरः प्रेत्य यशस्तथा ॥[34] २९ ॥

[35]अन्नदानं महादानं सर्वदानाधिकं स्मृतम् ।
अन्नादि[36]त्राण[37]जननं नॄणां सञ्जायते सदा ॥ ३० ॥

प्राणाप्यायनमात्रं तु यो विप्राय प्रयच्छति ।
दुर्भिक्षे तु विशेषेण स लभेच्चाक्षयादिकम् ॥ ३१ ॥

[38]कृत्वा तु पातकं कर्म यो दद्यादन्नमीप्सितम् ।
ब्राह्मणानां विशेषेण सन्निहत्यात्मनस्तु सः ? ॥[39] ३२ ॥

२९. 'औरभ्रम्' इति सर्वत्र । एतच्च मांसमित्यस्य विशेषणम् ।
३०. अत्र उत्तराशब्दस्य 'उत्तरा भाद्रपदा' इत्यर्थः ।
३१. फलवाचकं त्वर्धं कोशे लुप्तम्; उपरि उद्धृतं म. भारतात् ।
३२. रेवतीनिर्देशेन दानविधायकमर्धं च लुप्तं, म. भारतादुद्धृतम् ।
३३. 'तिल' इति. म. भा, कृ. क, च. चि ।
३४. नक्षत्रदानमत्र समाप्तम् ।
३५. बृहस्पत्युक्तत्वेन कृ. कल्प १६; च चि. ९७९.
३६. 'अन्नाद्धि' कृ. कल्प., च चि. ।
३७. 'प्राण' कृ. कल्प., च. चि. ।
३८. स्व. म. ११. ३१. = च. चि. पृ. ९७९. प. १८ to
९८०. ,, ८.
कृ. कल्प. पृ २४६. प. १५.
२४७. ,, १०.
३९. स निहन्त्यात्मनोऽयशः—कृ. कल्प. स निहन्त्यात्मनस्तमः ।

दुर्लभस्त्वन्नदाता च मुदा भोक्ता च दुर्लभः ।
मुदा दाता च भोक्ता च तावुभौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥ ३३ ॥

योऽन्नं बहुमतं भुङ्क्ते यश्चान्नं नावमन्यते ।
यश्चान्नं प्रीतितो दद्यात्तस्यान्नमुपतिष्ठति ॥ ३४ ॥

प्रीतितोऽन्नं च यो दद्याद् गृह्णीयाद्योऽभिपूज्य च ।
प्रीतितोऽक्षयमाप्नोति पूजितः स्वर्गमश्नुते ॥ ३५ ॥

यो दद्यादपि नान्नं[४०] च यश्चान्नं नाभिनन्दति ।
तावुभौ नरके मग्नौ वसेतां शरदां शतम् ॥ ३६ ॥

[४१]भोजयित्वा दश शतान् नरो वेदविदो द्विजान्[४२] ।
न्यायविद्धर्मविदुषो स्मृतिशास्त्रविदस्तथा ॥ ३७ ॥

न याति नरकं घोरं संसारं च न सेवते ।
[४३]पतेद् ब्राह्मणमन्नं तु भुक्तमन्नं यदा गृही ॥ ३८ ॥

अवन्ध्यं दिवसं कुर्यादन्नदानेन मानवः ।
भैक्षेना(णा?)न्नं समाहृत्य विप्रेभ्यो यः प्रयच्छति ॥ ३९ ॥

स्वाध्यायनिरतो विप्रः तदेव फलमश्नुते ।
[४४]कुटुम्बं पीडयित्वा तु (पि) ब्राह्मणाय महात्मने ॥ ४० ॥

४०. यो दद्यादप्रियेणान्नम्—कृ. कल्प. च. चि।
४१. स्व. म. ११. ३६ to = च. चि. पृ. ६८३ प २१ to
३६१,२ १८४ ,, ५.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४७ प. १६ to
२४८ ,, १.
,, ,, ११. ३६.३,४. to ४० = कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४८ प. ७—१०
३६३,४, ४०१,२ = च. चि. पृ. ६७४ प. १३, १४.
,, ,, ,, ४०३,४ = ,, ,, ,, ६८४ प. १२.
४२. एतत्प्रघट्टकश्लोकाः महाभारतादिति कृ. कल्प., ब्रह्मवैवर्तादिति च. चि. ।
४३. 'यतेत ब्राह्मपूर्वं तु भोक्तुमन्नं सदा गृही' इति समीचीनः पाठः-कृ. कल्प. ।
४४. म. भारते दानधर्मादिति च. चि. पृ. ६७४.

दातव्यं भिक्षितायान्नमात्मनो भूतिमिच्छता ।
[४५]अन्नाद्भूतानि जातानि देवाश्चान्नाभिकाङ्क्षिणः ॥ ४१ ॥

[४६]न तस्य पात्रादिविधिं(धिः)विना श्राद्धं प्रकीर्तितम् ।
अपि कीटपतङ्गानामपि चाण्डालयोनिनाम् ॥ ४२ ॥

दत्त्वान्नं लोकमाप्नोति प्राजापत्यं समाहितः ।
बान्धवेभ्योऽतिथिभ्योऽन्नं पुत्रेभ्यो[४७]ऽन्नं प्रयच्छतः ॥ ४३ ॥

दीनान्धकृपणानां च स्वर्गः स्यादन्नदायिनाम् ।
[४८]ग्रामे तु विफलं ह्येतद्विधिवत् परिकीर्तितम् ॥ ४४ ॥

एतद्देवायने[४९] प्रोक्तं द्विगुणं पुण्यगौरवम् ।
[५०]धर्मार्थिकाममोक्षाणामारोग्य(ग्यं) साधनं यतः ॥ ४५ ॥

स तस्यारोग्यदानेन नरो भवति सर्वदः ।
[५१] आरोग्यं चापि कुरुते– –दैवे परिच्छदः ॥ ४६ ॥

४५. नन्दिपुराणादिति च. चि. पृ. ६८४.

४६. स्व. म. ११. ४१—४३१,२ = च. चि. पृ. ६८४. प. १३—१७.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४८. ,, ११—१६.
,, ,, ११. ४३३,४, ४४१,२ = च. चि. पृ. ६८४. ,, २० b)
,, ,, ६८५ ,, १.
कृ. कल्प. पृ. २४६. ,, १, २.
,, ,, ,, ४४३,४, ४५. च. चि. ,, ८६३. ,, १-३.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५०. ,, ३-५.

४७. 'विप्रेभ्यः' कृ. कल्प; 'मित्रेभ्यः' च. चि.

४८. 'ग्रासे ग्रासे फलं' इति कृ. कल्प; च. चि.

४९. 'एतदेव अयने' कृ. कल्प; 'एतद्देवाय ते' च. चि.

५०. अत आरभ्य आरोग्यदानम् । कृ. कल्प. १७.

५१. 'आरोग्यशालां कुरुते महौषधपरिच्छदाम्' कृ. कल्प., च. चि.

[५२]वैद्यस्तु शास्त्रवित् प्राज्ञः नूनौषधपराक्रमः[५३] ।
औषधिमूलपूर्णज्ञः[५४] स्मरन् कालविधिं तथा ॥ ४७ ॥

रसवीर्यविपाकज्ञः नालि(शालि)मांसौषधिगणान्(णे?) ।
योगविद्देहिनां प्रेत्य[५५] यो धीमान् प्रविशेद् बुधः ॥ ४८ ॥

व्याधितं नीरुजीकृत्य अप्येकं करुणायुतः ॥
प्रयाति ब्रह्मसदनं कुलसप्तकसंयुतम् ॥ ४९ ॥

अल्पवित्तानुसारेण दरिद्रः फलभाग्भवेत् ।
यस्तु स्वल्पाद्युपायेन मोक्षयेद्व्याधिपीडितम् ॥ ५० ॥

सोऽपि याति शुभान् लोकान् यथेष्टान् यज्ञयाजिभिः ।
[५६]भूताभयप्रदैर्दत्तं गोसहस्रं सदक्षिणम् ॥ ५१ ॥

५२. स्व. म. ११. ४६, ४७ = च. चि. पृ. ८९३. प. ५ to ८
,, ,, ,, कृ. कल्प. ,, २५०. ,, ७—१०.
,, ,, ४८. = च. चि. ,, ८९३. ,, २०—२१.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५१. ,, ९, १०.
,, ,, ४९१,२ = च. चि. पृ. ८९४. , १.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५१. ,, ११.
,, ,, ४९३,४ = च. चि. ,, ८९४. ,, ६, ७.
,, ,, ५०१,२ = कृ. कल्प. ,, २५१. ,, १६, १७.
,, ,, ५०. ३. = च. चि. ,, ९४६. ,, १३१.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५२. ,, ६१.
,, ,, ५०. ४. = च. चि. ,, ९४६. ,, १९२.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५२. ,, १२२.

५३. दृष्टौषधपरायणः (पराक्रमः) कृ. कल्प. च. चि.

५४. 'मर्मज्ञः' 'वर्णज्ञः' कृ. कल्प. च. चि.

५५. 'देहं' कृ. कल्प., च. चि.

५६. अत आरभ्य अभयदानम् । कृ. कल्प. १८.

[५७]यज्ञदानतपांसि च परत्रेह च भूतये ।
भवन्ति तस्य यस्यार्थे रक्षणेनापि मानसम् ॥ ५२ ॥
[५८]रागाद्द्वेषाद्भयाद्वापि सन्त्यजेद्यो विपद्गतम् ।
ब्रह्महत्यासमं तस्य पापमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ ५३ ॥
प्राणिनं हन्यमानं हि यः शक्तः समुपेक्षते ।
प्रयाति नरकं घोरमिति प्राहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ ५४ ॥
चतुस्सागरपर्यन्तां यो दद्यात्पृथिवीमिमाम् ।
मर्त्येभ्यो योऽभयं दद्यात्ततोप्यभयदोऽधिकः ॥ ५५ ॥
[५९]विनष्टः पश्यतो यस्य(या)रक्षितः शरणागतः ।
आदाय सुहृदं(सुकृतं)तस्मात् स्वर्गं गच्छति रक्षिता(त्यरक्षितः)॥ ५६॥
[६०]छत्रदो[६१]गृहमाप्नोति गृहदो नगरं तथा ।
उपानहः प्रदानेन रथमाप्नोत्यनुत्तमम् ॥ ५७ ॥

५७. स्व. म. ११. ५१, ५२ = च. चि. पृ. ६४७. प. ३—४.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५३. ,, १ – ५.
,, ,, ,, ५३, ५४ = च. चि. ,, ६४७. ,, १२—१५.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५३. ,, ७. १०.
,, ,, ,, ५५ = च. चि. ,, ६४८. ,, ३, ४.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५४. ,, २. ३.

५८. श्लोकौ ५२, ५३ महाभारतादिति कृ. कल्प., श्लो. ५२ तथा च. चि. पृ.६४७. श्लोकौ ५२, ५३ दृश्यतां रामायणे युद्ध°

५९. इत आरभ्य ५ श्लोका रामायणादिति कृ. कल्प., च. चि., दृश्यन्ते चैते तत्र युद्ध° १८. २७—३१; स्व. म. श्लो. ३०-३१ एवोद्धृतः ।

६०. स्व. म. ११. ५६$_{१,२}$ = च. चि. पृ. ६२७. प. ५.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५८. ,, १७.
,, ,, ,, ५६$_{३,४}$ = ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, १८.
,, ,, ,, ५७$_{१,२}$ = च. चि. ,, ६३६. ,, १०.
कृ. कल्प. ,, २५८. ,, १६.
,, ,, ,, ५७$_{३,४}$ to ६० = कृ. कल्प. पृ. २६६ प. १ [illegible]५, ११, १२.

६१. इतः परं नानादानानि । कृ. कल्प. प्रकीर्णदानानि, पृ. २५८—६. तत्र यमादिति ।

इन्धनानां प्रदानेन दीप्ताग्निरिव जायते ।
गवां घासप्रदानेन सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥ ५८ ॥

रुक्मदः सर्वमाप्नोति आरोग्यं[६२] रूपमुत्तमम् ।
वासोदः चन्द्रमो लोकं सूर्यलोकं गुडप्रदः ॥ ५९ ॥

राजोपकरणं दत्वा वस्त्राणि विविधानि च ।
नगरं च तथा दत्वा राजा भवति भूतले ॥ ६० ॥

गोरसानां प्रदानेन तृप्तिमाप्नोत्यनुत्तमाम् ।
तथा घृतप्रदानेन दीर्घं विन्दति जीवितम् ॥ ६१ ॥

[६३]नानाविधानि द्रव्याणि धनानि विविधानि च ।
आयुःकामेन देयानि स्वर्गं चाक्षयमिच्छता[६४] ॥ ६२ ॥

वस्त्रदाता सुवेशः स्याद्रूप्यदो रूपमुत्तमम् ।
हिरण्यदो महावृद्धिं दीर्घमायुश्च विन्दति ॥ ६३ ॥

फलमाल्यानि पानानि शाकानि विविधानि च ।
यानानि दत्वा विप्रेभ्यः मुदा युक्तः सदा भवेत् ॥ ६४ ॥

औषधं स्नेहमाहारं रोगिणे रोगशान्तये ।
ददानो रोगरहितः सुखी दीर्घायुरेव च ॥ ६५ ॥

ताम्बूलं चैव यो दद्याद् ब्राह्मणेभ्यो विचक्षणः ।
मेधावी सुभगः प्राज्ञो दर्शनीयश्च जायते ॥ ६६ ॥

[६७]गुडमिक्षुरसं चैव लवणं व्यञ्जनानि च ।
सुरभीनि(णि?) च पानानि दत्वात्यन्तं सुखी भवेत् ॥ ६७ ॥

६२. 'रूप्यदः' इति कृ. कल्प. पाठः ।
६३. स्व. म. ११.६१-६५. = कृ-कल्प. पृ. २५९. प १४, १५, १७, १८.
,, २६०. ,, १–४, १२, १३.
६४. संवर्तादिति कृ. कल्प. पृ. २५९-६०.
६५. स्व. म. ११.६६ = कृ. कल्प. पृ. २६० प. १४, १५.
,, ,, ,, ६७१-६ = ,, ,, ,, २६२ ,, १२, १३, १४,

[६६]देवतापुष्पदानेन जायते श्रीसमन्वितः ।
ऊर्धां(र्ध्वां?) गतिमवाप्नोति यश्च धूपप्रदो नरः ॥
लोके प्रकाशो भवति चक्षुष्मानपि दीपदः ॥ ६८ ॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे.....दानविधौ
एकादशोऽध्यायः ॥

६६. यमादिति कृ. कल्प. पृ. २६२.

मत्स्य उवाच—

दानपात्रमथो वक्ष्ये यथा यज्ञे प्रशस्यते ।
यथा स्नानेऽन्नदाने च हव्ये कव्ये विशेषतः ॥ १ ॥

[1]किंचिद्धे[2]मयं[3] पात्रं किंचित्पात्रं तपोमयम् ।
पात्राणामपि तत्पात्रं शूद्रान्नं यस्य नोदरे ॥ २ ॥

[4]श्रोत्रियाय दरिद्राय अतिथिने[5] विशेषतः ।
यद्दानं दीयते तस्मै तद्दानं श्रुतकारकम् ॥ ३ ॥

[6]षट्कर्मनिरतो विप्रः श्रोत्रियो ग्राम[7]धर्मवित् ।
वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वज्ञः शुद्धात्मा पापवर्जितः ॥ ४ ॥

[8]सुमहद्ब्राह्मणे[9] दानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणब्रुवे ।
प्राधीते शतसाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारगे ॥ ५ ॥

१. स्व. म. १२.२, ३ = कृ. कल्प. पृ. २८ प. ११, १२, १४, १५.

,, ,, ,, ४ = [,, ,, ,, ३१ ,, ६, ७
च. चि. ,, २६. ,, १५, १६

,, ,, ,, ५ = [कृ. कल्प. ,, ३६. ,, १३, १४
च. चि. ,, २९. ,, १–२

२. कृ. कल्प० ३. पृ. २८. तत्र श्लोक एष वसिष्ठादुद्धृतः ।

३. 'वेदमयं' इति कृ. कल्प० समीचीनः पाठः ।

४. कृ. कल्प. पृ. २८. संवर्तादिति

५. 'अर्यिने च' इति कृ. कल्प० समीचीनः पाठः । यथास्थिते पाठे 'अतिथये इति भाव्यम् ।

६. कृ. कल्प. पृ. ३१. देवलादिति ।

७ 'नाम' इति कृ. कल्प० पृ. ३१.

८. कृ. कल्प० पृ. ३६. यमादिति ।

९. 'सममब्राह्मणे' इति तत्र समीचीनः पाठः ।

[10]मातापितृषु[11] यद्दानं भ्रातृस्वसृसुतेषु च ।
जायात्मजेषु यद्दत्तं त्रिषु नाशो विधीयते ॥ ६ ॥
[12]धूर्ते वन्दिनि मल्ले च कुचिन्दे कूटवेशके ।
चाटूकरणचौरेभ्यो दत्तं भवति निष्फलम् ॥ ७ ॥
न दद्यादेव तद्दानं तथा शूद्रनिवेशने ।
गणयाजिषु नष्टेषु तथा ब्रह्मजितेषु च ॥ ८ ॥
[13]बैडालवृत्तिके चैव हीनाङ्गेष्वतिवेदके ।
दन्तहीने रवने(?)चापि दत्ते चापि प्रनश्यति ॥ ९ ॥
[14]यस्य धर्मो ध्वजो नित्यं अवाध्वजशिरोश्रितः(?)[15] ।
प्रच्छन्नानि च पापानि बैडालं नाम तद्व्रतम् ॥ १० ॥
[16]यः [17]कारणं पुरस्कृत्य व्रतचर्यां निषेवते ।

०. स्व. म. १२. ६ = कृ. कल्प० पृ. ४० प. २, ३
च. चि. ,, ३३ ,, १५. १६.
,, ,, ,, ७ = कृ. कल्प० पृ. ४८ ,, ५, ६.
च. चि. ,, ३९ ,, १६, १७.
,, ,, १०. = कृ. कल्प० ,, ४६ ,, ७.
= च. चि. ,, ३९ ,, २, ३.

१. कृ. कल्प० पृ. ४० तत्र व्यासादिति ।
२. ,, ,, ,, ४८ तत्र दक्षादिति । च. चि. पृ० ३९.
३. ,, ,, ,, ४५-४७. च. चि. पृ० ३८-३९
४. ,, ,, ,, ४६ मनो. विष्णोरिति । च. चि० पृ० ३९. वि. पु. व्या. विष्णुचित्तीया ३. १८. १०१.
५. सर्वत्र 'सुरध्वज इवोच्छ्रितः' इति पाठः ।
६. स्व. म. १२. ११, १२ = कृ. कल्प. पृ. ४६ प. १४, १५, पृ. ४७प. १.
च. चि. ,, ३८ ,, १६, १७, १८, १९.
,, ,, ,, १३ = कृ. कल्प. ,, ६७ ,, २, ३.
,, ,, ,, १४ = कृ. कल्प. ,, ४७ ,, ६. ७.
च. चि. ,, ३८ ,, २०, २१.
,, ,, ,, १५ = कृ. कल्प. ,, ४६ ,, ९. १०.
च. चि. ,, ३९ ,, ४. ५.
मनुस्मृतिः अ. ४ श्लो. १९६.

१७. श्लोकाः ११-१४-कृ. कल्प. पृ. ४६-७ च. चि. पृ. ३८ यमादिति ।

पापं व्रतेन प्रच्छाद्य बैडालं नाम तद्व्रतम् ॥ ११ ॥

अर्थं च विपुलं गृह्य दत्वा लिङ्गं विवर्जयेत् ।
आश्रमान्तरितं चक्रे[१८](?)बैडालं नाम तद्व्रतम् ॥ १२ ॥

परिगृह्याश्रमं यस्तु स्थिरस्तत्र न तिष्ठति ।
आश्रमस्य विलोपेन बैडालं नाम तद्व्रतम् ॥ १३ ॥

यतीनामाश्रमं गत्वा प्रच्यव्यास्मात्तु यः पुनः ।
यतिधर्मविलोपेन बैडालं नाम तद्व्रतम् ॥ १४ ॥

[१९]अधोदृष्टिर्नैष्कृतिकः स्वार्थाराधनतत्परः ।
शठो मिथ्याविनीतश्च शु(शू?)करव्रत[२०]उच्यते ॥ १५ ॥

दानमन्त्रानथो वक्ष्ये दातव्यद्रव्यभेदतः ।
मन्त्रैश्च मन्त्रितं कुर्वन्मन्त्रेणानेन पूजयेत् ॥ १६ ॥

सुरासुरसगन्धर्वा विद्याधरमुखाश्च ये ।
नित्यं दर्शनमिच्छन्ति तमादर्शं नमाम्यहम् ॥ १७ ॥

सुसंवादनया सर्वान् सुरान् घटयते यतः ।
या च घण्टेति विख्याता सा मे पापं व्यपोहतु ॥ १८ ॥

त्वं पूज्यः सर्वभूतानां चामरामरतृप्तिद ।
पराभूषणरूपाय चामराय नमो नमः ॥ १९ ॥

धान्य त्वं सर्वभूतानां परमाधाररूपक ।
जन्तूनां जीवभूतानां श्रीनिवासाय ते नमः ॥ २० ॥

या शक्तिः सर्वभूतानां वैष्णवी पारमेश्वरी ।
तिलधेनुस्वरूपेण सा मे पापं व्यपोहतु ॥ २१ ॥

१८. अत्र 'रक्षेद्' 'वक्ष्ये' इति पाठान्तेऽपि अर्थो न स्पष्टः ।
१९. मनु. ४. १९६ कू. कल्प. पृ. ४६. च. चि. ३९.
२०. किन्तु सर्वत्रापि बकवृत्तिलक्षणतया दृश्यते । शूकरस्त्वत्रासङ्गतः ।

अप्सु विष्णुर्वसेन्नित्यमापः सर्वस्य कारणम् ।
वैष्णवी परमा शक्तिर्जलधेनुर्नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ २२ ॥

स्वर्गमोक्षप्रदा नित्यं भुक्तिमुक्तिप्रदायिनी ।
नमामि गुडधेनुं त्वां सर्वदुर्गतिनाशिनीम् ॥ २३ ॥

जन्मकोटिकृतं पापं ब्रह्महत्यादि यत्कृतम् ।
विलयं याति यद्दानान्मधुधेनुं नमाम्यहम् ॥ २४ ॥

यद्दानफलमिच्छन्ति देवाः स्वर्गादपि ध्रुवम् ।
तस्यै दुस्स्वाति(खा?)हारिण्यै नमस्ते तिलधेनवे ॥ २५ ॥

पानीयाय नमस्तुभ्यं प्राणिनामपि तृप्तये ।
निरन्ने निर्जले धाम्नि मम स्वर्गाय वै भव ॥ २६ ॥

व्यजनाय नमस्तुभ्यं श्रमघ्नाय सदा नृणाम् ।
यमवर्त्मप्रयासाद्धि त्रायस्व त्वं सुरेश्वर ॥ २७ ॥

कुशकण्टकभूतापविनाशिभ्यां[२१] यमालये ।
सर्वदोषापहारिभ्यां[२१] पादुकाभ्यां नमो नमः ॥ २८ ॥

त्वं चक्षुः सर्वभूतानां जगदानन्दकारक ।
परब्रह्मस्वरूपाय प्रदीपाय नमो नमः ॥ २९ ॥

विनानुलेपनं देवा न यान्ति प्रीतिमुत्तमाम् ।
तस्माद्यमालये प्रीतिसुखं देहि ममालये(?)[२२] ॥ ३० ॥

वनस्पतिसमुद्भूत देवतानां विभूषणम् ।
परलोकहितार्थाय वरमाल्याय ते नमः ॥ ३१ ॥

देवासुरमनुष्याणां तथान्येषां च देहिनाम् ।
भूषणं परमं यस्मादतः स्वर्णाय ते नमः ॥ ३२ ॥

२१. अत्र लिङ्गव्यत्ययः ।
२२. अत्र अनुलेपनद्रव्यसम्बोधनरूपः मलयजादिः शब्दः अपेक्ष्यते ।

सर्वधर्मस्वरूपाय सर्वपापहराय च ।
पितृणां परमार्थाय रजताय नमो नमः ॥ ३३ ॥

ऐरावतकुले जातः नृपाणां वाहनोत्तमः ।
लक्ष्मीनिवासहेतुस्त्वं दिव्यमूर्ति (र्ते) नमोऽस्तुते[२३] ॥ ३४ ॥

तुरङ्गमङ्गलोत्पन्न वाहनानां त्वमुत्तमः ।
रेवन्ताधिष्ठिताश्च त्वं सूर्यवंश नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ३५ ॥

शिविके त्वं मनुष्याणां यानं परममुत्तमम् ।
देवान् वहसि दुर्गेषु अतः पाहि सनातनि ॥ ३६ ॥

प्रजापतिसमुद्भूते वैष्णवि लोकपूजिते ।
ग्रीष्म (?) रूपेण सर्वेषां दासि[२४] पाहि मनोरमे ॥ ३७ ॥

वराहेणोद्धृतासि त्वं लोकान् वहसि सर्वदा ।
विष्णोराश्रम (य?) भूतासि वसुधे त्वां नमाम्यहम् ॥ ३८ ॥

आवासः सर्वभूतानां देवतानां च सर्वदा ।
श्रिया वासो यतस्त्वं हि गृहवर्य नमोऽस्तु ते ॥ ३९ ॥

[२५]या लक्ष्मीः सर्वभूतानां या च देवेष्ववस्थिता ।
धेनुरूपेण सा देवी मम पापं व्यपोहतु ॥ ४० ॥

एवं दानं ततो दत्वा स्वस्तीति ब्राह्मणो वदेत् ।
गायत्रीं च पठेत्तत्र *कोऽदादिति पठेत्ततः ॥ ४१ ॥

इति श्रीस्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे (?)
दानविधौ द्वादशोऽध्यायः

२३. अयं श्लोको गजं परामृशति ।
२४. शुश्रूषार्थं दीयमानां दासीं विषयीकरोत्ययं श्लोकः ।
२५. आ. म. ८२ ११. च. चि. पृ. ४०३, पङ्क्ति ४-५.
* यजुर्वेदारण्यकम्; 'क इदं कस्मा अदा'दितिमन्त्रः ।

मत्स्य उवाच—

[1]रात्रौ दानं न शंसन्ति विना चोभयतोमुखीम्[2] ।
यज्ञान्ते च ददेद्रात्रौ गोयज्ञे तु विवर्जयेत् ॥ १ ॥

द्रव्यस्य नाम गृह्णीयाद्दानीति ततो वदेत् ।
तोयपात्रेण तद्दद्यादर्घपात्राच्च विद्युतिः ? ॥ २ ॥

[3]प्रतिग्रहीता सावित्रीमन्ते चापि प्रकीर्तयेत् ।
प्रतिग्रहं पठेदुच्चैः प्रतिगृह्य द्विजोत्तमात् ॥ ३ ॥

मन्त्रं पठेत्तु राजन्यादुपांशु च तथा विशः ।
मनसा तु तथा शूद्रात् स्वस्तिवाचनकं तथा ॥ ४ ॥

सोङ्कारं ब्राह्मणे कुर्यान्निरोङ्कारं महीपतौ ।
प्राजापत्यो गजः प्रोक्तः रेवन्तः तुरगः स्मृतः ॥ ५ ॥

[4]तथा चैकशफं सर्वं[5] कथितं यमदैवतम् ।
महिषश्च तथा न्याय्यः (याम्यः?) उष्ट्रो वै नैर्ऋतो भवेत् ॥ ६ ॥

रौद्री धेनुर्विनिर्दिष्टा छाग आग्नेय उच्यते ।
मेषं तु वारुणं विद्यात् वराहो वैष्णवः स्मृतः ॥ ७ ॥

आरण्याः पशवः सर्वे कथिता वायुदेवताः ।
जलाशयानि सर्वाणि विविधश्च कमण्डलुः ॥ ८ ॥

कुम्भं च करकं चैव वारुणानि द्विजोत्तम ।
सामुद्राणि च रत्नानि सामुद्र्याणि तथैव च ॥ ९ ॥

१. वि. ध. ३. ३०१. ३. २. वि. ध. 'अभयदक्षिणाम्' इति ।
३. च. चि. पृ. ९५. पङ्क्तिः १०, २०-३ ।
४. श्लो. ६–१२. च. चि. पृ. ९६.७ ; श्लो. ६–१० :
विधानपारिजाते (पृ. ३६) च वि. धर्मोत्तरादिति ।

आग्नेयं कनकं प्रोक्तं सर्वलोहानि यानि च ।
प्राजापत्यानि मांसानि षक्कान्नमपि च द्विजाः ॥ १० ॥

पुष्पाणि सर्वगन्धानि गान्धर्वाणि च भो द्विज ।
बार्हस्पत्यं स्मृतं वासः रजतं चन्द्रदैवतम् ॥ ११ ॥

पक्षिणश्च तथा सर्वे वायव्याः परिकीर्तिताः ।
विद्या ब्राह्मी विनिर्दिष्टा विद्योपकरणानि च ॥ १२ ॥

[५]मत्स्यमांसे विनिर्दिष्टे प्राजापत्ये तथैव च ।
छत्रं कृष्णाजिनं शय्यां रथमासनमेव च ॥ १३ ॥

उपानहौ तथा यानं यच्चान्यत् प्राणवर्जितम् ।
उत्तानाङ्गिरसो (सः) तद्वत् शय्या दारुमये शृणु ॥ १४ ॥

उत्तानाङ्गिरसो (सः) तत्र रम्भा(?) चान्यत्र भो द्विजाः ।
महाच्छत्रे भवेत्सूर्यः पेयानामथ वारुणः ॥ १५ ॥

चरकी* चामरस्यास्य नारिकेलजलस्य च ।
रसोपकरणं सर्वं कथितं शक्रदैवतम् ॥ १६ ॥

गृहस्य लक्ष्मीर्विज्ञेया खड्गस्यापि च कालिका ।
छुरिकाया भवेद् दुर्गा कट्टारस्य§ तु चण्डिका ॥ १७ ॥

आदर्शस्य भवेच्चन्द्रः घण्टायाश्चापि वासवः ।
कम्बलस्य भवेत्सूर्यः सर्वं वा विष्णुदैवतम् ॥ १८ ॥

[६]भूमेः प्रतिग्रहं कुर्यात् भूमेः कृत्वा परिग्रहम् ।
आरुह्य च गजस्योक्तः स्त्रीरूपकरिणां करे ॥ १९ ॥

केशरेषु तथैवाश्वं स्त्रीरूपे वामकर्णके ।
प्रतिग्रहीता चायच्छेन्महिष्या दक्षकर्णके ॥ २० ॥

५. श्लो. १३–१४ : च. चि. पृ. ६७. पङ्क्ति–२.
* देवताविशेषः । § विशसनार्थः शास्त्रविशेषः ।
६. श्लो. १९ : च. चि. पृ. ६८ पङ्क्ति ४, ८.

[७]महिषस्य तथा शृङ्गे चामरस्य च चामरे ।
कर्णे वापि च गोश्चान्ये पुच्छे कृष्णाजिनस्य तु ॥ २१ ॥

बीजानां मुष्टिमादाय यवान्यादाय सर्वशः ।
वस्त्रं दशायामादद्यात् परिधायाथवा पुनः ॥ २२ ॥

आरुह्योपानहौ दृभ्यामुपर्यास्यासनेषु च ।
ईषायां तु रथं ग्राह्यं छत्रं दण्डे च धारयेत् ॥ २३ ॥

व्यजनस्य तथा मुष्टौ खड्गस्य त्सरुदेशतः ।
द्रुमाणां पर्वतानां च मूले न्यस्य करं द्विजः ॥ २४ ॥

धर्मध्वजं तस्य स्पृष्ट्वा प्रविश्य च तथा गृहम् ।
प्रतिग्रहस्य यो धर्मं न जानाति द्विजो विधिम् ॥
द्रव्यस्तेयसमायुक्तो नरकं प्रतिपद्यते ॥ २५ ॥

इति स्वरूपमत्स्यपुराणे . . . . दानविधौ
द्रव्यदेवताकथने त्रयोदशोऽध्यायः ॥

७. श्लो. २१-४ : च. चि. पृ. ६८. पङ्क्ति. १४, १६-२०.

मत्स्य उवाच—

[1]कूपारामप्रपाकारी तथा वृक्षप्ररोपकः ।
कन्याप्रदः सेतुकारी स्वर्गमाप्नोत्यसंशयः (म्) ॥ १ ॥
तडागे यस्य पानीयं सततं खलु तिष्ठति ।
सूर्यलोके गतिस्तस्य नात्र कार्या विचारणा ॥ २ ॥
येषां तडागानि शुभाः प्रपाश्च
कूपा आरामाश्च प्रतिश्रयाश्च ।
अन्नप्रदानं मधुरा च वाणी
तेषामयं चैव परश्च लोकः ॥ ३ ॥
पानायत्तं तु सकलं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
[2]पानीयेन विना वृत्तिर्लोके नास्तीति(ह)कर्हिचित् ॥ ४ ॥
तस्माज्जलाशयः कार्यः पुरुषेण विपश्चिता ।
तोयं स्वर्गविधि चैव उत्तरेन्द्रे (?) ततः फलम् ॥ ५ ॥
तडागपुष्करिण्यौ च दीर्घिका वापिरेव च ।
नलिनी सेतुबन्धश्च प्रपाकूपस्तथैव च ॥ ६ ॥
[3]जलयन्त्रं शैलधरो [धारा] गर्भ कलस [श] मेव च ।
[4]प्रावृट्काले स्थितं तोयमग्निष्टोमफलं लभेत् ॥ ७ ॥
शरत्कालं (ल?) स्थितं या(यत्)स्यादगृर्ध्व(?) [तदुक्त?][5] फलदायकम् ।
[6]वाजपेयातिरात्राभ्यां हेमन्ते शिशिरे स्थितम् ॥ ८ ॥

१. श्लोक १-३. कृ. क. पृ. २७६. च. चि. पृ. ९९७' १००५. उभयत्र यमादिति ।
२. इदमर्धं च. चि. पृ. ९९०. वि. धर्मो इति ।
३. एतेषां विवरणमधः श्लो २० आरभ्य दत्तम् ।
४. आ. म. ५८. ५३-४. च. चि. पृ. १००६ : प्रावृट्कालेऽपि पानीयं तडागे यस्य तिष्ठति । अग्निष्टोमफलं तस्य पुरुषस्य प्रकीर्तितम् ॥ कृ. क. पृ. २८७.
५. आ. म. ५८. ५३. कृ. क. पृ. २८७.
६. कृ. क. पृ. २८७.

ग्रीष्मे वापि स्थितं तोयं राजसूयाद्विशिष्यते ।
एकाहं तु स्थितं तोयं पृथिव्यामपि सत्तमाः ॥ ९ ॥

कूलानि तारयेत्तस्य सप्तपूर्वापराणि च ।
दिनैकेनाश्वमेधेन तुल्यं भवति वै द्विजाः ॥ १० ॥

तडागादे (:) सनी (?)कर्ता विष्णुपुरं व्रजेत् ।
अकामान्मुक्तिकामाद्वा भवेदक्षयलोकभाक् ॥ ११ ॥

तोयदः प्रत्यहं विप्राः पार्थस्याङ्गं विभज्यतः (?) ।
देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्येषु स्पृशन् स्वर्गं समश्नुते ॥ १२ ॥

तस्मान्निःकल्मषीभूय ब्रह्मभूयाय कल्पते ।
अन्ते स्वर्गमवाप्नोति मोक्षं च लभते ध्रुवम् ॥ १३ ॥

नगरग्रामयोर्मध्ये गृहस्य पुरतोऽपि वा ।
विदिग्याम्यं नैर्ऋतं च वर्ज्यं कुर्याज्जलाशयम् ॥ १४ ॥

सहस्रहस्तविस्तारं दैर्घ्येणाष्टाधिकं भवेत् ।
तडागं तद्विजानीयादुत्तमं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ १५ ॥

मध्यमं च तदर्धेन तदर्धेन कनिष्ठकम् ।
कलौ पञ्चशतं कुर्यान्मध्यमं च चतुश्शतम् ॥ १६ ॥

त्रिशतेनापि प्रस्तारे दैर्घ्ये पञ्चशतानि वै ।
त्रिशतेन भवेद्दैर्घ्यं तथा च द्विशतेन च ॥ १७ ॥

प्रस्तारस्य च विन्यासे प्रथमं मानमुच्यते ।
मध्यं सार्धशतेनापि प्रस्तारं विंशहीनकम् ॥ १८ ॥

द्वादशैकादशं यावत् पञ्चविंशतिविंशकम् ।
बद्ध्वा संस्थापयेत्तोयं बद्धतोयं विदुर्बुधाः ॥ १९ ॥

यन्त्रेणानीयते धारा विदु (दू) रात् शिल (शैल) निर्मिता ।
काष्ठवंशमयेनापि सा धारा [illegible] ॥ २० ॥

गिरिधारा च भूमिस्था अन्तरीक्षगताथवा ।
सा धारा गिरिधारा स्यात् सर्वाभीष्टप्रदायिका ॥२१॥

त्रिहस्तमथ प्रस्तारं सार्धहस्तमथापि च ।
निम्ने षोडशहस्तं स्यादिष्टकाभिर्विनिर्मितः ॥२२॥

महाकूपस्तु स प्रोक्तः द्विहस्ताभ्यां प्रकूपकः ।
तरुमूले मण्डपे वा तोयदानं करोति यत् ॥
निखाते प्रत्यहं विप्राः सा प्रपा परिकीर्तिता ॥२३॥

वर्तुलं चैकहस्तेन तदर्धेनापि सत्तम ।
मासार्धं मासमात्रं वा वर्षाकाले स्थितं च वा ॥
गर्भमेतद्विजानीयाच्चतुरश्रंभवेत् क्रमः ॥२४॥

आयामे विंशहस्तं स्यात् षोडशं चापि वा चरेत् ।
त्रिचतुःपञ्च कलसाः(शाः) तोयपूर्णा हि नित्यशः ॥
यद्दानं चापि वैशाखे घटदानमिति स्मृतम् ॥२५॥

कथितं द्वादशगणं शृणु विप्र त्रयोदश ।
समस्तप्रतिमायां वा शय्याग्रामासने तथा ॥२६॥

द्विहस्तेन त्रिहस्तेन लोहयन्त्रं तु कारयेत् ।
वैशाखे वापि या धारा कुम्भे कृत्वा विधानवित् ॥२७॥

अङ्गुलं स्वर्णपादस्य पञ्चवेधांस्तु कारयेत् ।
विस्तारे चापि स्वर्णस्य मधुक्षीरस्य च क्रमात् ॥२८॥

सर्वमेकतमं कुर्यात् शर्करादिविनिर्मितम् ।
सुगन्धेन समालभ्य कुशतोयेन लोलितम् ॥२९॥

अग्निष्टोमाद्दशगुणं प्राप्नोति मनुजः खलु ।
यज्ञेष्वग्रे वा दद्यात् वेदिकायां शतं भवेत् ॥३०॥

अश्वमेधसहस्राणां सहस्रं यः समाचरेत् ।
तदाप्नुयात् तु यः कर्ता तदेव फलमश्नुते ॥३१॥

विमानैर्मोदते स्वर्गे नरकं स न गच्छति ।
गवादिः पिबते यस्मात्तस्य नश्येत पातकम् ॥३२॥

[1]यस्य खातवने गावस्तृप्यन्ति मासमेव सः[2] ।
तारयेत्सप्तकुलानि[3] सर्वदेवैः प्रपूजितः ॥३३॥

हायने हायने चैव कल्पात्कल्पं विधीयते ।
दाता स्वर्गमवाप्नोति तोयदस्सर्वतो भुवि ॥३४॥

मेघे[4] वर्षति खाते च जायते यति* शीकराः[5] ।
तावद्वर्षं वसेत्स्वर्गे कर्मणोऽस्मादिति स्मृतिः[6] ॥३५॥

पुराणायतदानस्य पुष्करिण्या जलस्य तु ।
न समं तु दिनैकस्य जनस्य धर्मतो भृशम् ॥३६॥

युगकोटिसहस्रस्य कारितादुपपातकात् ।
महद्भ्यः पञ्च पापेभ्यो जलदो मुच्यते ध्रुवम् ॥३७॥

अहिरिवदृढकञ्चुकाद्विमुक्तो ।
व्रजति हरेः सदनं तडागकारी ॥३८॥

[7]किं वा वाच्यः पुष्करिण्याः प्रभावः
कर्ता यस्माद्वारुणाद्ब्रह्मलोकात् ।
मूर्ध्नि प्रोता बाहुमात्रोच्छ्रिता सा
यावन्न स्यान्न निवर्तेत तावत् ॥३९॥

१. स्व० म० १४. ३३, ३४. ३५ = पद्म० सृष्टि०, ५१. ३, ४, ५
२. च पद्म. सृष्टि. ५४. २.
३. 'तावत्सप्तदिनात्पूतः' पद्म० सृष्टि० ५४-२.
४. मेघो पद्म० सृष्टि० ५४, ५.
* यावन्त इत्यर्थे प्रयुक्तोऽयं शब्दः ।
५. 'जायन्ते ये तु' पद्म० सृष्टि० ५४, ५.
६. 'तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि दिवमश्नाति मानवः' पद्म० सृष्टि० ५१. ३.
७. स्व०. म० १४. ३९ = [illegible] १. ६ ८९

काश्यां निवासो युगकोटिमेवं
दानं गवां लक्षसहस्रसंख्यम् ।
महामखस्यास्य तडागकर्मणः
प्रजाः कदाचिन्न समं व्रजन्ति ॥४०॥

कृत्वापि धर्मं यदशेषसंख्यं
कृत्वात्मपापं पततीह लोकः ।
महोत्कटैः पापशतैर्वरेण्यः
तडागकारी तु पुन र्न लिप्यते ॥४१॥

यदीच्छेत् संक्षयं नेतुं पापं जन्मशतोद्भवम् ।
एकाहमपि कौन्तेय भूमिस्थमुदकं कुरु ॥४२॥

कृत्वा जलाशयं सर्वं स्वयुग्मे चापि वत्सरे ।
प्रतिष्ठां विधिवत्कुर्यात् युग्माब्दे च भयं भवेत् ॥४३॥

वर्षे वर्षान्तरे वापि प्रतिष्ठां च समाचरेत् ।
सुवर्णचषकं कृत्वा तोयपूर्णं द्विजन्मने ॥४४॥

निगमज्ञाय धीराय प्रतिष्ठां च समाचरेत् ।
प्रासादपक्षे प्रासादं शातकुम्भमयं तथा ।
कृत्वा द्विजन्मने दद्याद्युग्मवर्षे प्रशस्यते ॥४५॥

शस्यते प्रथमेऽब्देऽपि युग्मे चापि प्रतिश्रवे ।
यन्त्रे चापि न दुष्येत कूपे षण्मासतः परम् ॥४६॥

पञ्चमासान्तरे कूपप्रतिष्ठां च समाचरेत् ।
दशधेनुफलं सम्यक् प्राप्यते नात्र संशयः ॥४७॥

तदन्तरे रत्नशृङ्गं दत्वा यज्ञं समाचरेत् ।
अन्यथा भयदं पुंसां न काम्यं जायते क्वचित् ॥४८॥

न चाष्टवर्षे चारामं नरः कृत्वेह दुर्मतिः ।
फलं वै शातकुम्भस्य दातापि न समाचरेत् ॥४९॥

तस्माज्जलाशयं कृत्वा उत्सृजेत् प्रथमाब्दिके ।
द्वितीये च तृतीये वा मासे चाब्दे न दुष्यति ॥५०॥

अनुत्सृष्टाः स्थापिता ये तडागारामसंश्रयाः ।
जलं पूयसमं विप्राः फलं विष्ठा फलाकृतिः ॥५१॥

पाने फलाशने वापि प्रासादे चापि विश्रमे ।
चाण्डालसेवनं यस्मान्मरणे बन्धमाप्नुयात् ॥५२॥

तस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा यद्येवं कर्तव्या सुसमाहितैः ।
मकरे संस्थिते हंसे सानुकूले शुभे तथा ॥५३॥

व्यतिपातादिरहिते प्रतिष्ठां च समाचरेत् ।
माघे विपुलकीर्तिः स्यात् फाल्गुने विजयी भवेत् ॥५४॥

चैत्रे मनोरथावाप्तिः वैशाखे धनवान् भवेत् ।
ज्यैष्ठे चारोग्यवान् सिद्ध आषाढे कुलवर्धनः ॥५५॥

देवतास्थापनं माघे फाल्गुने चापि शस्यते ।
चैत्रे ज्यैष्ठे व्याधिकरमाषाढे स्वर्गमाप्नुयात् ॥५६॥

वापीनलिन्योर्गर्तस्य* स्वर्गदं सुखदं भवेत् ।
कार्तिके जलयन्त्रस्य वद्धतोयस्य च द्विजाः ॥५७॥

[२]वारे भृगोर्देवगुरोर्बुधस्य सोमस्य सर्वे शुभदा भवन्ति ।
लग्ने शुभस्थे शुभवीक्षिते वा कुर्यात् प्रतिष्ठां च जलाशयानां

प्रतिपच्च द्वितीया च तृतीया माधवस्य च ।
त्रयोदशी पञ्चदशी पौर्णमासी तथैव च ॥
दशमी सप्तमी विप्राः प्रतिपत्तिथयः क्रमात् ॥५९॥

[३]सम्प्राप्य चैतानि शुभान्यहानि
कार्या प्रतिष्ठा विधुवद्बुधे च ।

* गर्भ इति पूर्वनिर्दिष्टमिदं स्यात् ।
२. स्व म १४ ५८ = भविष्य० मध्यम० २ . २६ . २.
३. „ „ „ ६० = „ „ „ „ „ „ „ .

षडशीतिके वाप्ययनद्वये च ।
युगादिके पुण्यदिने शुभे च ॥६०॥

[४]हस्ताश्विनी रेवती च पुष्यो मृगशिरास्तया ।
अनुराधा तथा स्वातिः प्रतिष्ठादिषु शस्यते ॥६१॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे (?) प्रतिष्ठाविधौ
चतुर्दशोऽध्यायः

४. ,, ,, ,, ६१ = आ. म. २६४. ७.

मत्स्य उवाच—

[1]लक्षैकवृक्षसंयुक्तमुत्तमं कृत्ति [वृति ?] बन्धनम् ।
मध्यमं चायुतैः कार्यं सहस्रेण कनिष्ठकम् ॥ १ ॥

कलौ चायुतमारामं द्वे सहस्रे तु मध्यमम् ।
तदर्धेन कनिष्ठं स्यादशक्तोऽपि सहस्रकैः
तदर्धेन शतेनापि सर्वाशक्ते कलौ युगे ॥ २ ॥

विप्रार्जुनैः केशरैश्च बदरैः शाल्मलैरपि ।
पाटलाशोकभृङ्गैश्च हीनं (?)[2] कुर्यात् प्रयत्नतः ॥ ३ ॥

न मध्ये बहुपात् [3]कुर्यात् पनसामलकानि च ।
कलाहैस्तान्तरं कृत्वा सहकारं तु रोपयेत् ॥ ४ ॥

मुनिहैस्तान्तरं चान्ये पूगं चाष्टकरान्तरे ।
महायज्ञं च कुरुते यो रोपयति पादपम् ॥ ५ ॥

स्वच्छायाफलपुष्पाढ्या पादपाः पथि रोपिताः ।
सर्वपापहरं सर्वकामदं तुलसीवनम् ॥ ६ ॥

सहस्रारोपणाद्विप्राः सर्वान् कामानवाप्नुयात् ।
नानाजातिगणवृतं पुष्पारामं तु कारयेत् ॥ ७ ॥

स याति वैष्णवं लोकमयुतं च तदर्धकम् ।
तावद्वर्षसहस्राणि यावद्बीजदलानि च ॥ ८ ॥

१. श्लो० १-३ दृश्यतां भविष्य० मध्यमपर्व० ९-९०.
२. 'चाहीनम्' इति स्यात् ।
३. वटः —अमरः २. ४.३२.
४. १६ इत्यर्थः
५. ७ इत्यर्थः ।

वसन्ति देवता लोके तुलसीं रोपयन्ति ये ।
शतं चामलकं रोपेत् किंशुक [कं ?] द्वादशापि च ॥ ९ ॥

अश्वत्थामलकं विप्रा दश द्वादश वा तथा ।
बीजस्य शोधनं कुर्यात् गर्भाधानादिका क्रिया ॥ १० ॥

कार्यानुरूपं यद्यस्य तस्य तावद्विधिं शृणु ।
भूमिं गृहीत्वा वास्त्वीशं रसपानं[६] शिखिध्वजम् ॥ ११ ॥

पश्य लम्बेति (?) मन्त्रेण बीजान् प्रक्षाल्य यत्नतः ।
त्र्यम्बकमिति मन्त्रेण दुग्धेनाभ्युक्षयेत्ततः ॥ १२ ॥

चन्दनोत्सिक्ततोयैश्च श्रीश्चतेति[७] (?) च संस्मरन् ॥
नियतं कलशे कृत्वा त्रिरात्रं स्थापयेत्ततः ।
सितवस्त्रधरो भूत्वा प्रभाते चापि रोपयेत् ॥ १४ ॥

तुलसीरोपणविधिं बीजानामथ शोधनम् ।
वक्ष्ये यथानुरूपेण यथाकालमतन्द्रितः ॥ १५ ॥

तुलस्या बीजमादाय आषाढे श्रावणेऽपि वा ।
सौम्यग्रहानुरूपेण सौम्यवारे विशेषतः ॥ १६ ॥

रात्रौ बीजानि तोये तु स्थापयेत् कुशवारिणा ।
आप्यायस्वेति मन्त्रेण गन्धतोयैरनन्तरम् ॥ १७ ॥

स्पृष्ट्वा चामृतबीजं च दश द्वादश एव च ।
कलशे स्थापयेद्धात्रीं मयूराण्डेन लेपयेत् ॥ १८ ॥

जाते संरोपयेद्वृक्षं त्रिहस्तान्तरतस्ततः ।
मयूरपत्रैः संवेष्ट्य निशासूत्रैश्च वेष्टयेत् ॥ १९ ॥

न दक्षिणे न नैर्ऋत्ये न चाग्नौ कारयेत् क्वचित् ।
न ज्यैष्ठे रोपयेद्वृक्षान् न सिंहे च कदाचन ॥ २० ॥

६। कृ. कल्प० दान. पृ० ३०२ धनपालं भविष्य० मध्यम० १.१०.२३ . वनपालं, च. चि. पृ. १०४६.
७. 'ह्रीश्चते' इति स्यात् ।
८. हरिद्रा इत्यर्थः ।

तुलसीं च विशेषेण रोपयन् यात्यधोगतिम् ।
वृक्षालये वास्तुमध्ये न शमीं रोपयेत् क्वचित् ॥२१॥

न केशरं पञ्चशिरां (?) कलिचण्डोल (?) मेव च ।
वसन्ते दापयेत् कूपं शिशिरे तु तडागकम् ॥२२॥

वैशाखे रोपयेद्वृक्षानाश्विने केशरं तरुम् ।
फलतोयेन बीजानां क्षालनं प्रथमं स्मृतम् ॥२३॥

द्वितीये गन्धतोयाभ्यामश्वत्थस्य च बीजकम् ।
वर्तित्वा क्षालनं कृत्वा बीजानां गर्भधारणम् ॥२४॥

मत्स्यतोयेन धान्यानाम् आम्रबीजैरथापि वा ।
हरिद्रया किंशुकानां पनसस्य च सत्तमाः ॥२५॥

[९]कलायस्य च माषस्य क्षालनं गौरसर्षपैः ।
पनसं मधुना पश्चात् पूगानामविरालकैः (?) ॥२६॥

ताम्रतोयैर्नारिकेलं वनमार्जारविष्ठया ।
व्रीहीणां चाषकारिणामश्वत्थस्य विशेषतः ॥२७॥

काकविष्ठा शृगालस्य चम्पकस्य बकस्य च ।
पनसस्याश्वविष्ठा वा किंशुकानां तथैव च ॥२८॥

पञ्चयोजनपर्यन्ता भवेत् सेतुस्तथोत्तमा ।
मध्या यामत्रयाणां तु तदर्धेन कनीयसी ॥२९॥

यामैकेन कलौ शतं तदर्धं च तदर्धकम् ।
प्रतिश्रयं च तन्मध्ये कारयेत् सुसमाहितः ॥३०॥

दशवृक्षान्वितं कुर्यात् पनसाश्वत्थमन्दैः[१०]
कूपवाली (पी?) समायुक्तं जलयन्त्रादिभूषितम् ॥
नीचमण्डपसंयुक्तं सुस्तद्वयसमन्वितम् ॥३१॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे (?) प्रतिष्ठाविधौ पञ्चदशोऽध्यायः ।

९. शमीधान्यविशेष० ।
१०. मन्दारैरिति यावत् ।

मत्स्य उवाच—

सर्वस्वेनापि विप्रेन्द्राः देवतायाः प्रतिश्रयम् ।
कुर्याद्वित्तानुसारेण यथावल्लक्षणान्वितम् ॥१॥
सर्वोत्तमं शैलमयमिष्टकादिविनिर्मितम् ।
शैलेष्टकामयं कुर्यादथवा मृत्तिकामयम् ॥२॥
अथ दारुमयं विप्राः तृणकाष्ठमयं च वा ।
तृणवंशमयं कुर्यादथ वंशमयेन वा ॥३॥
यावत्कुपातालशिला हि वेश्मनः
. . . . त्वमाप्नोति न वै तदेतत् (?) ।
[1]तावत् सुवेशोऽमरलोकवासी[2]
प्रासादकृज्जातु न जायतेह[3] ॥४॥
कलौ लोहमयं वर्ज्यं तथा वंशमयं च यत् ।
पञ्चपुष्करसंयुक्तं न कुर्यात्तु गृहाश्रमी ॥५॥
समतीतं भविष्यं च कारयित्वा हरेर्गृहम् ।
स्वर्गं च वैष्णवं लोकं मोक्षं च लभते क्रमात् ॥६॥
. . . . . भूमिं कोलयेच्च तदाकृतिः ।
वाहयेद्वापयेद्वान्नै नः तिलस्यारामवर्जनम् ॥७॥
यावद्वास्तुबलिं तत्र दद्यादर्घं विभूतये ।
अकृत्वा वास्तुयागं च यस्तडागं समुत्सृजेत् ॥
प्रासादमथवारामं तदर्धार्धफलं लभेत् ॥८॥

१. स्व. म. १६. ४b = भविष्य° मध्यम° १. ६. ८८b.
२. सुरेशस्सुरलोक° भविष्य° मध्यम° १. ६. ८८b.
३. जायते हि भविष्य° मध्यम° १. ६. ८८b.

षोडशोऽध्यायः

तस्मात्प्रतिष्ठादिवसादूर्ध्वं सप्तदिनानि वै ।
भूम्यादि पञ्च पत्रं वा प्रत्यर्घं च विधीयते ॥९॥

पश्चात् प्रतिष्ठा कर्तव्या तद्दिने वा समाचरेत् ।
प्रतिष्ठादिवसे कृत्वा रौरवं स्यादधोगतिः ॥१०॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे (?)
प्रतिष्ठाविधौ षोडशोऽध्यायः ।

श्री मत्स्य उवाच—

[1]प्रासादस्योत्तरे पूर्वे पश्चिमे वा विशेषतः ।
मण्डपमर्चयेत्[2] तत्र हस्तषोडशविस्तृतम् ॥१॥

प्रस्तारे करहीनं स्याच्चतुर्हस्तान्तरे स्थितम् ।
दशहस्तममुच्छ्रेधं[3] त्रिहस्तं च द्विहस्तकम् ॥२॥

चरकाद्वयसंयुक्तं समण्डपं तु कारयेत् ।
विंशहस्तान्तरं कुर्यात् प्रासादस्य जलाशयात् ॥३॥

तदर्धं द्वादशाथापि तदर्धं वान्तरं भवेत् ।
किञ्चित् कुब्जं तडागे तु पूर्वतः परिवर्जयेत् ॥४॥

पुष्करिण्यां पश्चिमे तु उत्तरे च प्रशस्यते ।
अर्कहस्तान्वितं कुर्यात् प्रस्तारे करहीनकम् ॥५॥

सेतौ तु वर्तुलं कार्यमारामे कुब्जकं भवेत् ।
सेतुमध्ये प्रकर्तव्यमथवा भागहीनकम् ॥६॥

आराममध्ये तद्वत् स्यात् मण्डपश्च चतुर्मुखः ।
पञ्चाशत् कारयेत्.क्षेत्र(म्) अंशं हित्वा च वेदिकाम् ॥७॥

कुण्डं प्रकल्पयेत्तत्र सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ।
एककुण्डस्य पक्षे तु पञ्चकुण्डे भवेद्दिशि ॥८॥

अग्रतोऽपि भवेदेकं स च पक्षे शृणु द्विज ।
अष्टाम्वामाशु वेद्यायां गौरीपतिमहेन्द्रयोः ॥९॥

१. द्रष्टव्यं मत्स्य० २६४.१३.
२. अर्चयेत् इत्येतत् 'रचयेत्' इत्यस्मापपाठः स्यात् ।
३. 'समुत्सेधं' इति भवितव्यम् ।

मध्ये प्रकल्पयेत् कुण्डं यथावल्लक्षणान्वितम् ।
शोधयित्वा तुषैर्भूमिं तुषकेशादिवर्जिताम् ।।१०।।

विशुद्धं कारयेद्यत्नादन्यमन्यं भवेद्यतः ।
दशहस्तान्तरं कुर्यात् प्रासादोऽपि विशिष्यते ।।११।।

उद्योगे चाष्टहस्तान्ते नेमिं तु परिकल्पयेत् ।
पुष्करिण्यां चाष्टहस्तं सेतौ सेतौ विधीयते ।।१२।।

चतुर्हस्ता भवेद्वेदिर्हस्तोच्छ्रे धातु शोभना ।
चतुर्हस्त समायुक्ता प्रासादेऽपि विशेषतः ।।१३।।

तडागे त्वेकहस्तः स्यात् पाश्चात्ये परिकल्पयेत् ।
बाहुमात्रेण तत्कुर्यादुच्छ्रेधं तालमात्रकम् ।।१४।।

तत्तु कार्यं पुष्करिण्यां सेत्वारामादिकेषु च ।
त्रयोदशगणं हित्वा वेद्याश्चैव तु दक्षिणे ।।१५।।

उत्तरे च तथैशान्यां रत्निहस्तान्तरे भवेत् ।
कुण्डं प्रकल्पयेत्तत्र न च युग्माङ्गुलान्ततः ।।१६।।

मेखलाया मध्यमध्ये भवेत् सार्धाङ्गुलं ततः ।
प्रासादे च तडागे च पुष्करिण्यामिदं स्मृतम् ।।१७।।

प्राक् सार्धाङ्गुलकं हित्वा अन्यत्र तु विवर्जयेत् ।
षट्सप्ताङ्गुलविस्तीर्णं गजोष्ठं कारयेद्बुधः ।।१८।।

अश्वत्थदलवत्कुर्यान्मेखलोपरि विन्यसेत् ।
अष्टाङ्गुलैर्भवेन्नाभिः स्फुटमम्बुजयन्यसेत् ।।१९।।

अम्बुजेऽम्बुजचर्जं स्याद्योनौ योनिं विवर्जयेत् ।
दिक्षु ध्वजान्निबध्नीयाल्लोकपाल समन्वितान् ।।
पञ्चहस्तसमुच्छ्रेधान् चैत्याष्टकसमायुतान् ।।२०।।

कदलीपुष्पसदृशमष्टकर्षविनिर्मितम् ।
दण्डिकुशसमायुक्तं मेखलान्वितमेव च ।।२१।।

अम्बकमिति च प्राहुः पताकाश्च यथा शृणु ।
मुष्टिहस्तेन प्रस्तारं दैर्घ्यण (दैर्घ्येण) हस्तमात्रकम् ॥२२॥

किङ्किनीत्रयसंयुक्तं परिवाहसमन्वितम् ।
त्रिहस्तमुच्छ्रितं कुर्याल्लोहाद्यष्टकसंयुतम् ॥२३॥

घण्टाचामरसंवीतं वस्त्रमालयैरलङ्कृतम् ।
कार्या चाष्टौ पताकाश्च पार्श्वयोश्च द्वयं भवेत् ॥२४॥

ग्रहयज्ञे भवेन्मध्ये सेतुयागे तथैव च ।
प्रासादस्य तु रक्षेव हस्तिहस्ता ध्वजाः स्मृताः ॥२५॥

ग्रहयागे चतुर्हस्तं कूपे चापि त्रिहस्तकम् ।
प्लक्षौडु(दु)म्बरमश्वत्थम् वटं पूर्वादितः क्रमात् ॥ २६ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ कृत्वा समस्तानि कुम्भविमण्डितान्यपि ।
त्रिकाष्ठरहितान्येव पट्टवस्त्रावृतानि च ॥ २७ ॥

शाखातोरणमध्यान्ते भित्वा भित्वा विधीयते ।
त्रिहस्तेन समुच्छ्रेधं शाखापल्लवचर्चितम् ॥ २८ ॥

पञ्चसप्तच्छदयुतशाखामञ्जरिकान्वितम् ।
फलपुष्पसमायुक्तं नोचेद्वा धारयेत्ततः ॥ २९ ॥

सपुष्पान् पञ्चहस्तांश्चसप्तहस्तान् सुशोभनान् ।
रोपयेत् कदलीस्तम्भान् जटापल्लवसंयुतान् ॥ ३० ॥

निशाक्तसूत्रैः संवेष्ट्य कुशवद्धांश्च तानपि ।
रज्ज्वा संसूत्रितान् कुर्यात् कुत्रचित् व्यक्तमेव च ॥ ३१ ॥

दुकु(कू)लैश्चित्रवस्त्रैश्च वेष्टयेत् स्तम्भमालिकाः ।
वितानविदितान् भद्रानुपर्युपरिभूषितान् ॥ ३२ ॥

श्वेतपीतं प्रतिष्ठायां वैष्णवे यागकर्मणि ।
शैवे श्वेतं तथा रक्तं शाक्ते रक्तं प्रशस्यते ॥ ३३ ॥

ग्रहयागे भवेद्रक्तं कृष्णं वा योजयेत् क्वचित् ।
न कृष्णं योजयेत् पीतं न धूमं स्यात् कदाचन ॥ ३४ ॥

[३]शुभास्तत्राष्टहोतारो द्वारपालस्तथाष्ट वै ।
अष्टौ तु जापकाः कार्याः ब्राह्मणा वेदपारगाः ॥ ३५ ॥

[४]सर्वलक्षणसम्पन्ना मन्त्रज्ञाश्च जितेन्द्रियाः ।
कुलशीलसमायुक्ताः शुद्धदेहसमुद्भवाः ॥ ३६ ॥

[५]सर्वावयवसंपूर्णा मन्त्रवेदविशारदाः ।
सुराना (?) गमतत्त्वज्ञाः दम्भलोभविवर्जिताः ॥ ३७ ॥

शौचाचारपरा नित्यं सन्ध्योपासनतत्पराः ।
समाः शत्रौ च मित्रे च ब्रह्मोपेन्द्रहरप्रियाः ॥ ३८ ॥

ऊहापोहार्थतत्त्वज्ञा वास्तुविद्याविशारदाः ।
न्यासछन्दपदज्ञाश्च तेषामाचार्यता भवेत् ॥ ३९ ॥

काकस्वरोऽरूपविद्यश्च क्षुद्व्याधिभ्यां प्रपीडितः ।
अज्ञः साहसिको लुब्धः श्यावदन्तो ह्यनाकृतिः ॥ ४० ॥

मत्सरी च द्विजद्वेषी निन्दको वृषलीपतिः ।
पिशुनो देवलश्चैव वेदनिन्दक एव च ॥४१॥

पुण्यजीवी धर्मच्छेत्ता धर्मविक्रीत एव च ।
क्लीवः क्रूरश्चैकमुष्कोप्यर्शरोगी गलव्रणः ॥४२॥

कृष्णदन्तो मितलिनः (?) भार्याद्वेषी च लोलुपः ।
अपुत्रश्चाप्यसंतुष्टः यज्ञपात्रं न कारयेत् ॥४३॥

मातामहं मातुलं च श्यालं चैव क्रमात्ततः ।
न योजयेन्महायागे विनर्त्विजं द्विजर्षभाः ॥४४॥

प्रतिगर्भेषु कलसान् यज्ञोपकरणानि च ।
सौवर्णै रजतै र्वापि ताम्रैर्वा वित्तसम्भवे ॥४५॥

३. स्व. म. १७.३५ = आ. म. ५८.११
४. स्व. म. १७.३६ = आ. मा. ५८. १२.
५. स्व. म. १७. ३७, ३८, ३९a = आ. म. २६५.२.३०. d. ४.

अभावे मृन्मयैर्वापि स्थापयेदविचारयन् ।
पंचपल्लवसंयुक्तं रक्तमाल्यैरलंकृतम् ॥४६॥
पंचगर्भान्वितं कुर्यात् फलाक्षतविभूषितम् ।
कुम्भे च दाडिमफलं नि(लि)कुचामलकानि च
पूगं जीवन्तिकं चैव तालं च पनसं त्यजेत् ॥४७॥
विष्णुक्रान्ता वटाश्वत्थौ सहकार उडु(दु)म्बरः ।
पंच पल्लवमिष्टं वै दीक्षायां पनसं भवेत् ॥४८॥
विवाहे तु पल्लवैकं गृह्यागे त्रिपल्लवम् ।
महायागे तु पंचैवमभिषेके च शस्यते ॥४९॥
[६]ततो यागगृहादन्यन्मण्डपान्तरमाश्रितः ।
यजमानस्तथा नित्यं कर्म कुर्याद् यथाविधि ॥५०॥
[७]पंच देवान्नमस्कृत्य तथा यज्ञेश्वरं हरिम् ।
संकल्पं च तथा कृत्वा ब्राह्मणानामनुज्ञया ॥५१॥
एतस्मिन् भूप्रदेशे चामुकगोत्रेति संस्मरन् ।
वेदव्यासादिकथितशास्त्रे यथा निदर्शितम् ॥५२॥
यथा यथा पुराणोक्तपुष्करिण्यादिनामक ।
जलाशयप्रतिष्ठायाः फलानां प्राप्तिहेतवे ॥५३॥
यथा यथा पुराणोक्तं यथा कुण्डविधानतः ।
जलाशयप्रतिष्ठां च करिष्येऽहं यथाविधि ॥५४॥
एवं संकल्प्य च ततो वृद्धिश्राद्धं समाचरेत् ।
मातृयागं पुरस्कृत्य वृद्धिश्राद्धं समापयेत् ॥५५॥
यागमण्डपस्यैशान्ये (?) नवहस्ते च मण्डपे ।
स्वगृहे च नदीतीरे देवतायतनेऽपि च ॥५६॥

६. स्व. म. १७. ५० = भविष्य° मध्यम° २०-१.
७. स्व. म. ५१-५५ = भविष्म° मध्यम° २—५ ab, ६, ७.

यागं संकल्पयेत्तत्र ब्राह्मणान् वरयेत्ततः ।
तडागादिप्रतिष्ठायां यागमण्डपपश्चिमे ॥५७॥

श्राद्धं समाप्य वरयेत् षडर्घेण च मन्त्रवित् ।
कुशद्विजेऽपि[८] सर्वत्र अव्याधिष्णुरमात्रकम् (?)
उत्तराभिमुखो भूत्वा जानुस्पृष्टमहीतलः ।
गृहीत्वौडु(दु)म्बरं पात्रं वारिपूर्णं तिलान्वितम् ॥५९॥

चतुर्दर्भं च गन्धं च सपुष्पं च फलान्वितम् ।
मातुलङ्गं नागरं च धातकी सहकारकम् ॥६०॥

फलान्येतानि शस्तानि जम्बीरमथ दाडिमम् ।
नारिकेलं च पूगं च तालं खर्जुरमेव च ॥६१॥

जीवन्तीं चैव वासन्तीं संकल्पे परिवर्जयेत् ।
[१०]जलाशयादि यागे च कर्तव्यः पूर्वसंमुखः ॥६२॥

साधारणं चोत्तरास्यो गृह्यज्ञेषु सम्मुखः ।
[११]प्रणवं पूर्वमुच्चार्य जयज्ञेश्वरं स्मरेत् ॥६३॥

गङ्गां चादित्यचन्द्रौ च द्यौर्भूमिरहोरात्रिके ।
सूर्यः सोमो यमः कालो महाभूतानि पञ्च वै ॥६४॥

एते शुभाशुभस्यैव कर्मणो नवसाक्षिणः ।
इत्युच्चार्य न्यसेद्धर्मं (?) दत्वा पुष्पाञ्जलिं न्यसेत् ॥६५॥

[१२]ताम्राश्मकाञ्चनं शस्तं वर्ज्यं हस्तं च मृन्मयम् ।
शुक्तिशङ्खे खड्गलोहे संकल्पं नैव कारयेत् ॥६६॥

८. 'कुशद्विजं तु सर्वत्र अर्घ्यं विष्टरमात्रकम्' इति भविष्य° २.१८.३७ cd.
९. स्व. म. १७.५९. cd = भविष्य° २.१८.३७ ab.
१०. स्व. म. १७-६२ cd, ६३. ab = भविष्य° २.१८-३८.
११. स्व. म. १७.६३ cd-६५ = भविष्य° २.१८.४३, ४४, ४५. ab.
१२. दृश्यता भविष्य° २.१८-४२.

[१३]महाव्रते प्रतिष्ठादौ शस्तं पात्रं हिरण्मयम् ।
ताम्ररौप्यमयं वापि अथवा . . तिसम्भवम् ॥६७॥

देवप्रतिष्ठापक्षे तु रजतं परिवर्जयेत् ।
शैवे चैव सुप्रशस्तं गणेशे सूर्यके त्यजेत् ॥६८॥

[१४]रजताश्मं च खड्गं च गोयागे राजतं स्मृतम् ।
यज्ञीयपात्रपुटकं हस्तस्थाने प्रकीर्तितम् ॥६९॥

ऐशान्यां निक्षिपेत्तोयं प्रतिष्ठायां च पूर्वतः ।
आकाशे निक्षिपेत् काले पितृयज्ञे तु दक्षिणे ॥७०॥

त्वक्शङ्खमश्महस्तं च कांस्यं सीसकमेव च ।
सङ्कल्पोऽत्र न कर्तव्यो मृन्मये च कदाचन ॥७१॥

सर्वत्रौडु(दु)म्बरं शस्तं मेध्यं पत्रपुटं च वा ।
[१५]कामात्मको नैव भवे(त्)[१६]निष्कामोऽपि न शोभनः ॥७२॥

तस्मात् काममहं[१७](?) धर्मं विना मोक्षं न चाचरेत् ।
संकल्पेन विना यस्तु धर्मं चरति मानवः ॥
न तस्य फलमाप्नोति नित्यनैमित्तिकेन च ॥७३॥

चरणान्ते यजेद्विप्रान् लम्बमानैश्च मन्त्रकैः (?) ।
गन्धमाल्याम्बरयुतैः कुण्डलाद्यैरनेकशः ॥७४॥

स्वयं पूर्णमुखो भूत्वा आचार्यस्तु उदङ्मुखः ।
अर्चयेद्विष्टराद्यैश्च अर्घाद्यैः सपरिच्छदैः ॥७५॥

१३. स्व. म. १७.६७ = भविष्य० २.१८. ३९ ab.
१४. स्व. म. १७.६९, ७० = भविष्य० २.१८.३९ cd, ४०, ४१ ab.
१५. स्व. म. ७२ cd, ७३ = भविष्य० २.१८.३४, ३६.
१६. 'भवेन्नि०' इति पाठः भविष्य० २.१८.३५.
१७. 'मयं' इति पाठः भविष्य० २.१८.३५.

अन्येषां वृणुयात् पश्चात् प्रणिपत्य प्रसादयेत् ।
[18]ब्रह्ममूर्तिस्त्वमाचार्य संसारार्णवतारक ॥
त्वत्प्रसादादृगुरो यज्ञः प्राप्नोति यो मयेप्सितः ॥७६॥

चिरं मे शाश्वती कीर्तिर्यावल्लोकाः चराचराः ।
प्रसीद त्वं महादेव प्रतिष्ठा कर्मसिद्धये ॥७७॥

वेदवेदाङ्गतत्वज्ञ ज्ञानदृष्टिप्रदायक ।
प्रसीद सीदतां नाथ त्वमाचार्य नमोऽस्तु ते ॥७८॥

मखेषु विततेष्वेव विततेषु मुहुर्मुहुः ।
नियोजयति कर्माणि ब्राह्मणं प्रणमाम्यहम् ॥७९॥

ज्वलद्भैश्वानरप्रख्य धूमधामनिभानन ।
[19]षडङ्गवेदतत्वज्ञ ऋत्विङ्मुख्य नमाम्यहम् ॥८०॥

[20]प्रफुल्लकमलोद्भास भास्वत् भासुरभूषित ।
प्रकीर्णशास्त्रसंभार विधिज्ञ प्रणतोऽस्मि ते ॥८१॥

पुनः सर्वौषधिजलैरात्मानमभिषिच्य च ।
स्थण्डिले विलिखेच्चक्रं षड्भद्रं षोडशारकम् ॥८२॥

ब्राह्मणान् स्थापयेत् पश्चात् स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैर्यथाविधि ।
[21]यज्ञे विततेयोऽसौ पूज्यते पुरुषस्सदा ॥
नारायणस्वरूपोऽसि यज्ञं मे सफलं कुरु ॥८३॥

यज्ञेषु साक्षी सर्वेषु वेदवेदार्थतत्ववित् ।
ऋग्वेदज्ञ महाप्राज्ञ इन्द्ररूप नमोऽस्तु ते ॥८४॥

मखश्रेष्ठेषु सर्वेषु येन मन्त्राः सुविस्तृताः (?) ।
यजुर्वेदार्थतत्वज्ञ ब्रह्मरूप नमोऽस्तु ते ॥८५॥

१८. स्व. म. १७. ७६, ७७ = भविष्य° २. १८. १७, १८.
१९. स्व. म. १७. ८००d = भविष्य° २. १८. २३ab.
२०. स्व. म. १७. ८१ = भविष्य° २. १८. २२.
२१. स्व. म. १७. ८३–८५ = भविष्य° २. १८. २७०d–३०ab.

[२२]माङ्गल्यकर्मनिरतमद्वैतज्ञानरूपिणम् ।
सिद्धये मम यज्ञस्य नमामि शिवरूपिणम् ॥८६॥

पालयन्ति दिशः सर्वाः विदिशश्च तथापि याः ।
दिक्पालरूपिणं विप्रं यज्ञसिद्धौ नमाम्यहम् ॥८७॥

स्योनापृथिवीति मन्त्रेण मण्डलं प्रविशेत्ततः ।
मण्डलं प्रोक्ष्य संपूज्य पञ्चगव्येन पल्लवैः ॥८९॥

मण्डल त्वमसि विष्णोर्द्वारकारूपमास्थितम् ।
तेन त्वावाहयाम्यस्य स्वर्गप्राप्तिं कुरुस्व(ष्व)मे ॥८९॥

ततस्त्रिगुणितैः सूत्रैर्मण्डपं परिवेष्टयेत् ।
ईशमारभ्य विप्रेन्द्र आरामे पश्चिमादितः ॥९०॥

सेतौ चोत्तरमारभ्य देवपक्षे पुरः क्रमात् ।
स्वकीयासनमासाद्य प्राणायामं समाचरेत् ॥९१॥

सवित्रेऽर्घं ततो दत्वा गुरुषड्क्तीश्च पूजयेत् ।
गणेश्वरं तथैशान्यां कलसे(शे) तु समर्चयेत् ॥९२॥

ब्रह्माणं वासुदेवं च नैवेद्यैश्च पृथग्विधैः ।
स्वैः स्वैर्मन्त्रैश्चवेदोक्तैरथवाप्यागमोदितैः ॥९३॥

ध्यानवर्णानुरूपेण ऋषिच्छन्द आदिं स्मरन् ।
श्वेतपुष्पं गृहीत्वा तु तर्जन्यङ्गुष्ठयोगतः ॥९४॥

प्रणवेन समाकृष्य जीवं मूलेन वर्त्मतः ।
आकाशे स्थापयेज्जीवं भूतशुद्धिमथाचरेत् ॥९५॥

ध्यायेच्च वरुणं शुक्लं शुद्धस्फटिकसन्निभम् ।
किरीटकुण्डलधरं पाशहस्तं महाबलम् ॥९६॥

उपर्युपरि हस्ताभ्यां सिताब्जयुगधारिणम् ।
सेवितं मुनिगन्धर्वैराजीवायतलोचनैः ॥९७॥

२२. स्व. म. १७. ८६, ८७ = भविष्य० २. १८. ३१–३२०d.

ग्रहाद्यैरावृतं ध्यायेद् बालासनशतं(?)शिवम् ।
एवं ध्यात्वा स्वमन्त्रेण सोऽहमेवं शिरे(?)न्यसेत् ॥९८॥

अमृतार्णं दीर्घशुभं(?)पञ्चाङ्गन्यासमारभेत ।
सम्बोध्य तावदर्घं च गायत्र्याभ्युक्षयेत्ततः ॥९९॥

तावत्* संवारुणं बीजं वरुणाय च धीमहि ।
सलोकाय(?)विद्महे त्वन्नो वरुण प्रचोदयात् ॥१००॥

[२३]ऐशान्यां गणनाथं च आग्नेय्यां गुरुपादकम् ।
पूर्वादि द्वारदेशेषु धर्मादीन् मध्यतो यजेत् ॥१०१॥

आधारशक्तिमारभ्य साङ्गोपाङ्गं तमेव च ।
पात्रान्तरगतं पुष्पं पाणिकच्छपिकान्वितम् ।
ध्यात्वा चारोपयेन्मन्त्री अष्टौ मुद्राः प्रदर्शयेत् ॥१०२॥

[२४]एह्येहि भगवन् वरुण यज्ञ एष प्रवर्तते ।
यज्ञभागं गृहाणेमं त्वामत्रावाहयाम्यहम् ॥१०३॥

इत्यावाह्य गायत्र्या च स्नापयेदुक्तमार्गतः ।
पाद्यार्घाचमनीयं च मधुपर्कं च दापयेत् ॥१०४॥

अङ्गपूजां ततः कृत्वा दद्यात् पुष्पाञ्जलित्रयम् ।
[२५]पत्रमूलेषु पूर्वादौ धर्मादीन् प्रतिपूजयेत् ॥१०५॥

[२६]सर्वं सोमं च कामं च रजः सत्वं तमस्तथा ।
भूस्तत्वं च भुवस्तत्वं स्वस्तत्वं चाप्यनुक्रमात् ॥१०६॥

तत्रैव शक्तीः संपूज्य सत्यादीनि च सर्वशः ।
आद्या नीला तथा श्रीश्च गङ्गा पुष्टिः सरस्वती ॥१०७॥

* 'वं' इति भवितव्यम् ।

२३. द्रष्टव्यं भविष्य° २. २०. ३७cd, ३८ab.

२४. स्व. म. १७. १०३ = भविष्य° २. २०. ४२.

२५. द्रष्टव्यं भविष्य° २. २०. ४४cd.

२६. स्व. म. १७. १०६cd = भविष्य° २. २०. ४५cd.

तुष्टिर्मनोभवा चेति पूजयेद्गन्धचन्दनैः ।
दक्षिणकर्णिकायां च पूजयेद्गृहनायकम् ॥१०८॥
[२७]पूर्वादिपत्रमध्येषु सोमादींश्च पृथक् पृथक् ।
लोकपालांस्तु पूर्वादि पत्राग्रेषु समर्चयेत् ॥१०९॥
[२८]कर्णिकाया वामभागे इमं मन्त्रं यजेत्ततः ।
ऐशान्ये चैव ब्रह्माणमनन्तं मध्यपङ्कजे ॥११०॥
[२९]शिवं विष्णुं गणेशं च पूजयेद्गन्धचन्दनैः ।
ईशादिपीठकोणेषु कमलामम्बिकां तथा ॥१११॥
राक्षसे विश्वकर्माणं वायव्ये तु सरस्वतीम् ।
द्वारदेशेषु पूर्वादौ मरुतश्चावहादिकान् ॥११२॥
वह्निकोणादौ विप्रेन्द्र पिशाचादीन् समर्चयेत् ।
[३०]पिशाचान् राक्षसान् भूतान् वेतालांश्च समर्चयेत् ॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे (?) सप्तदशोऽध्यायः

२७. दृश्यतां भविष्य° २. २०. ४६.
२८. दृश्यतां भविष्य° २.२०.४७, ४८ ab.
२९. स्व. म. १७.१११, ११२ = भविष्य° २.२०.४९ ab, ५० cd, ५१.
३०. स्व. म. १७.११३ cd = भविष्य° २.२०.५४ ab.

मत्स्य उवाच—

पूजाक्रममयो वक्ष्ये तडागादिषु सत्तमाः ।
पूर्णवित्ते पूर्णमानं मध्यवित्ते तु मध्यमम् ॥ १॥
स्वल्पवित्ते कनिष्ठं च यथावद्विधिनोदितम् ।
रक्तपुष्पं रक्तगन्धं रक्ताक्षतसमन्वितम् ॥ २॥
ध्यायेत्पुष्पाञ्जलियुतं हृत्समं कुसुमाञ्जलिम् ।
चिन्तयेद्रक्तमादित्यं जवा (पा) कुसुमसन्निभम् ॥
द्विभुजं पद्महस्तं च पद्मासनगतं विभुम् ॥ ३॥
रक्ताम्बरधरं देवं रक्तपङ्कजमालिनम् ।
सप्ताश्वरथमारूढं देवगन्धर्वसेवितम् ॥ ४॥

[1]आकृष्णेनेति मन्त्रस्य सुवर्णवर्ण ऋषिर्[2]नुष्टुप् छन्दः सविता देवता आदित्यप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

रक्तपद्मासनस्थो यः सप्तघोटकवाहनः ।
सप्तद्वीपप्रदीपो यः तस्मै नित्यं नमोनमः ॥५॥
ध्यायेत्सोमं शुक्लवर्णं शुक्लपद्मासनस्थितम् ।
शुक्लमाल्याम्बरधरं दशघोटकवाहनम् ॥
द्विभुजं च गदाहस्तं सर्वकामप्रदायकम् ॥ ६॥

[3]इमन्देवा इति मन्त्रस्य सुपर्ण ऋषिर्बृहतीछन्दः सोमो देवता सोमस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

शङ्खकुन्दप्रतीकाशः क्षीरसागरसम्भवः ।
शम्भोः शिरसि संस्थो यः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥७॥

१. ऋ. वे. १, ३५, २. २. 'त्रिष्टुप्' इति ऋ. वे. १, ३५, २.
३. वा. सं ९,४०.४. ऋवे, ८. ४४, १६.

रक्तमङ्गारकं ध्यायेद्रक्तपद्मासनस्थितम् ।
चतुर्भुजं च वरदं शूलशक्तिगदाधरम् ॥८॥

अग्निर्मूर्द्धेति मन्त्रस्य विरूपऋषिर्गायत्री छन्द आग्नेयी देवता भौमप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

जवा(पा)विद्रुमसंकाशो विद्युद्दामसमप्रभः ।
शक्तिहस्तो महीपुत्रः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥९॥

पीतवर्णं बुधं ध्यायेत् पीताम्बरधरं शुभम् ।
पीतपद्मासनगतं पीतमाल्यानुलेपनम् ॥
खड्गचर्मगदापाणिं वरदं सिंहवाहनम् ॥१०॥

[५]उद्बुध्यस्वेति मन्त्रस्य परमेष्ठिऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप्छन्दः आग्नेयी देवता बुधप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

पीतपद्मासनस्थो यः पीताम्बरधरो विभुः ।
दिव्यरूपः शशिपुत्रः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ ११ ॥

पीताभं च गुरुं ध्यायेत् पीतमाल्यानुलेपनम् ।
पीतपद्मासनस्थं च पीताम्बरविभूषितम् ॥ १२ ॥

चतुर्भुजं च वरदं साक्षसूत्रकमण्डलुम् ।
दण्डसूत्रं सोत्तरीयं यज्ञसूत्रसमन्वितम् ॥ १३ ॥

[६]बृहस्पत इति मन्त्रस्य गृत्समदऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः बृहस्पतिप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

पद्माकृतिः पद्महस्तः पीताम्बरधरो गुरुः ।
इन्द्रादिभिस्स्तूयमानः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ १४ ॥

श्वेतवर्णं भृगुसुतं द्विजं कुन्देन्दुसप्रभम् ।
चतुर्भुजं दण्डहस्तं वरदं पीतवाससम् ॥
बिभ्रत्कमण्डलुं काव्यमक्षसूत्रसमन्वितम् ॥ १५ ॥

५. वा. सं. १५. ५४.
६. ऋ. वे. २, २३, १५ ; तै. सं. १, ८, २२, २.

[७]अन्नादिति मन्त्रस्य अश्विनी सरस्वतीन्द्रा ऋषयः जगतीच्छन्दः आग्नेयी देवता शुक्रप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

कुन्दावदातो दैत्यानामाचार्यो भृगुनन्दनः ।
साक्षसूत्रधरः श्रीमान् तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ १६ ॥

इन्द्रनीलद्युतिः सौरिर्वरदो गृध्रवाहनः ।
कृष्णमाल्याम्बरधरः कृष्णगन्धानुलेपनः ॥ १७ ॥

[८]शन्नो देवीति मन्त्रस्याथर्वनृषिर्गायत्रीछन्दः आपो देवता शनिप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

सूर्यपुत्रः शनिर्दीप्तो नीलाञ्जनचयप्रभः ।
छायापुत्रो महाकायः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ १८ ॥

करालवदनः शूली शंखचक्रधरः प्रभुः ।
नीलसिंहासनस्थश्च कुण्डलाद्यैरलंकृतः ॥ १९ ॥

[९]कयानश्चित्र इति मन्त्रस्य वामदेवर्षिः गायत्रीच्छन्दः इन्द्राणीदेवता राहुप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

शूलहस्तो महाभोगी दीप्तानल सुशोभनः ।
मुक्तादामधरः श्रीमान् तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ २० ॥

कराली धूम्रवर्णश्च सदाविकृतदिङ्मुखः ।
किरीटी कुण्डलधरः सर्वकामप्रदायकः ॥ २१ ॥

[१०]केतुं कृण्वन्निति मन्त्रस्य मधुच्छन्दऋषिरग्निदेवता केतुप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

मेघगम्भीरनिश्वासः किरीटी लोकपूजितः ।
अर्धासनगतो देवः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ २२ ॥

७. वा. सं. १९, ७५.
८. ऋ. वे १०, ९, ४.
९. ऋ. वे. ४, ३१, १.
1. ल. शुक्रयों (शुक्रो यो?). अचिराद्दुपलब्धात् लण्डन् इत्यिया आगतेषु— मातृकातः 'ल' इति संकेतेन पाठान्तराणि दत्तानि ।
१०. ऋ. वे. १, ६, ३.

सहस्रनयनं देवं मत्तैरावतवाहनम् ।
किरीटकुण्डलधरं नानारत्नोपशोभितम् ॥ २३ ॥

लसत्कङ्कणकं दण्डधारिणं तृप्तिकारिणम् ।
राजते नीलपत्त्रेण भ्राजमानं महाद्युतिम् ॥ २४ ॥

दधतीं श्वफल[११] द्वन्द्वमिन्द्राणीं वामतः स्थिताम् ।
महारजतसम्बद्धचामरालंकृतैरपि ।
वीज्यमानं सुरूपाभिर्महिषीभिरहर्निशम् ॥ २५ ॥

सिंहस्कन्धं महाबाहुं सिद्धगन्धर्वसेवितम् ।
सिंहासनगतं वापि चिन्तयेत् सुरनायकम् ॥ २६ ॥

[१२]त्रातारमिति मन्त्रस्य कर्दम ऋषिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः इन्द्रप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[१३]इन्द्रस्तु सहसा दीप्तः सर्वक्षेत्राधिपो महान् ।
वज्रहस्तो महाबाहुस्तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ २७ ॥

ततो वह्निं चिन्तयेदग्निभागे
[१४]करप्रभादीपयन्ती (?) शिखाभिः ।
चतुर्भुजैः स्वस्तिकं शक्तिमि(मृ ?) ष्टिम्[१५]
तथाभीतिं घृतमाल्यैर्दधानम् ॥ २८ ॥

[१६]अग्निर्मूर्द्धेति मन्त्रस्य काश्यपर्षिर्जगतीच्छन्दो वरुणो देवता अग्निप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[१७]अग्निर्यो महसा दीप्तः सर्वतेजोमयोऽव्ययः ।
धूमकेतुरनाधृष्यः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥ २९ ॥

११. स्व. म. स्वपन, ल. श्वपल. 'श्वफल' इति स्यात् । श्वफलं = बीजपूरफलम् ।
१२. ऋ. वे. ६, ४७, ११.
१३. आ. म. २६६. १९ c-d ; २० a-b. रघुनन्दनस्य जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्वे (जीवानन्दसंस्करणे) p. ५२१.
१४. ल. कनप्रभे. 'कनत्प्रभा' इति स्यात् ।
१५. ऋष्टिः खड्गः ।
१६. तै. सं. ४, ४, ४, १.
१७. आ. म. २६६. २० c-d ; २१ a-b ; जलाशयोत्सर्गतत्त्वे p. ५२१.

यमं ध्यायेद्दण्डहस्तं महामहिषसंस्थितम् ।
नीलाञ्जनचयप्रख्यं रक्तनेत्रं महाभुजम् ॥ ३० ॥

[१८]असि यम इति मन्त्रस्य औतथ्यर्षिरनिरुक्ता गायत्रीच्छन्दः आग्नेयी देवता यमप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[१९]यमश्चोत्पलवर्णाभः किरीटी दण्डधृक् सदा ।
सर्वसाक्षी विशुद्धात्मा तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥३१॥
राक्षसेन्द्रं खड्गहस्तं लोकपालं च नैर्ऋतम् ।
नरारूढं महाकायं रक्षोभिर्बहुभिर्वृतम् ॥३२॥
खड्गहस्तं महानीलं कज्जलाचलसन्निभम् ।
नरयुक्तविमानस्थं पीताभरणभूषितम् ॥३३॥

[२०]एष त इति मन्त्रस्य औतथ्यर्षिरनिरुक्ता गायत्रीच्छन्दः आग्नेयी देवता निर्ऋतिप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[२१]निर्ऋतिस्तु पुमान् कृष्णः सर्वलोकाधिपो महान् ।
खड्गहस्तो महाबाहुस्तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥३४॥
वरुणं च प्रवक्ष्यामि पाशहस्तं महाबलम् ।
शङ्खस्फटिकवर्णाभं सितपद्माम्बरावृतम् ॥
समासनगतं शान्तं किरीटवरधारिणम् ॥३५॥

[२२]वरुणस्योत्तमिति मन्त्रस्य नारायणर्षिरुष्णिक् छन्दः आपो देवता वरुणस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

[२३]वरुणः सवनो(सबलो ?)[२४] जिष्णुः पुरुषो निम्नगाधिपः ।
पाशहस्तो महाबाहुस्तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥३६॥

१८. ऋ. वे. १, १६३, ३.
१९. आ. म. २६६. २१c-d ; २२a-b; ज. आ. उ. पृ. ५२१.
२०. तै. सं. १, ८, १, ४.
२१. आ. म. २६६. २२c-d ; २३a-b; ज. आ. उ पृ. ५२२.
२२. वा. सं ४, ३६.
२३. आ. म. २६६. २३c-d ; २४a-b ; ज. आ. उ. पृ ५२२.
२४. ल. सरलः ; आ. म. धवल. ; पाठान्तरं—सबलः ; ज. आ. उ. पाठः—धवलः ।

ततो वायुं प्रवक्ष्यामि द्विभुजं मृगवाहनम् ।
छत्राम्बरधरं शान्तं युवानं कुञ्जरप्रभम् ॥
पद्मासनगतं चैव पताकाध्वजसंयुतम् ॥३७॥

[२५]ततो वारे(?)ति मन्त्रस्य नारायणर्षि विष्णुर्देवता वायुप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

मातरिश्वा तु वायव्यां सर्वगो भगवान् प्रभुः ।
अन्तश्चारी च भूतानां तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥३८॥

कुबेरं वरदं देवं नरारूढं महाबलम् ।
हारकेयूररचितं पीताम्बरधरं शुभम् ॥
गदापाणिं च वरदं मुकुटाटोपसंयुतम् ॥३९॥

कुविन्दं कुरज (?) इति मन्त्रस्य विवस्वतर्षि स्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः जनार्दनो देवता कुबेरप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[२६]गौरो यस्तु पुमान् सौम्यः सदैव सुरसंवृतः ।
यक्षस्याधिपति र्भव्यः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥४०॥

ईशानं वरदं देवं वृषवाहनत्र्यम्बकम् ।
चतुर्भुजं च कुन्दाभं शूलहस्तं महाबलम् ॥
सेव्यमानं च सुरौघैरुमया[२७] परिसेवितम् ॥४१॥

[२८]तमीशानमिति मन्त्रस्य ईशानर्षिर्बृहती छन्द ईशान देवता ईशानप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[२९]ईशानः पुरुषः शुद्धः सर्वविद्याधिपो महान् ।
शूलहस्तो विरूपाक्षः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥४२॥

२५. 'ततो विराडजायत' इत्ययं मन्त्रः स्यात्, वा. सं. ३१, ५.
२६. आ. म. २६६. २५c-d ; २६a-b ; ज. आ. उ. पु. ५२२.
२७. ल. सुरौघैश्च उमया.
२८. ऋ. वे. १, ८९, ५.
२९. आ. म. २६६. २६c-d ; २७a-b ; ज. आ. उ. पु. ५२२.

कमण्डलुधरं देवं श्रुवहस्तं महाबलम् ।
रक्तवर्णं चतुर्बाहुं हंसस्थं च विचिन्तयेत् ॥४३॥

[30]ब्रह्म जज्ञानमिति मन्त्रस्य कौण्डिन्यर्षिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दो ब्रह्मा देवता ब्रह्मणीतये विनियोगः ।

[31]पद्मयोनिश्चतुर्मूर्ति र्वेदवक्त्रः पितामहः ।
वेदाध्यक्षश्च लोकेशः तस्मै नित्यं नमो नमः ॥४४॥

अनन्तं भोगिराजानं सहस्रफणिनं शुभम् ।
शङ्खचक्रगदापद्मधारिणं श्वेतमुज्ज्वलम् ॥४५॥

[32]नमोऽस्त्विति मन्त्रस्य नारदर्षिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः सर्पो देवता अनन्तप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

अनन्तस्त्वं महाबाहुर्दीप्तमूर्तिर्धराधरः ।
श्वेतपद्मासनस्थाय नमोऽनन्ताय वै नमः ॥४६॥

रक्तवर्णं च ब्रह्माणं साक्षसूत्रधरं तथा ।
वामे कमण्डलुधरं रक्तपद्मासनस्थितम् ॥४७॥

[33]आब्रह्मन्निति मन्त्रस्य गर्गर्षिरनुष्टुप् छन्दः शची देवता ब्रह्मप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

शिवः पीनश्चतुर्बाहुः तप्तकाञ्चनसन्निभः ।
जटामुकुटधारी च द्विरष्टवर्षाकृतिः (?)
व्याघ्रचर्मपरीधानः कटिसूत्रत्रयान्वितः ॥४८॥

[34]त्र्यम्बकमिति मन्त्रस्य वामदेवर्षिः पंक्तिच्छन्दः हरिर्देवता शिवप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

कम्बुग्रीवं गुडाकेशं शक्तिवर्णं शुभेक्षणम् ।
दक्षिणे तु गदापद्मे वामे चक्रधरं तथा ॥४९॥

३०. तै. सं. ४, २, ८, ४.
३१. आ. म. २६६. २७-d; २८a-b; ज. आ. उ. पृ. ५२२
३२. वा. सं. १३, ६. ३३. तै. सं. ७, ५, १८, १.
३४. ऋ. वे. ७, ५९. १२.

[३५]तद्विष्णोरिति मन्त्रस्य कपिलर्षिः पंक्तिच्छन्दो वामदेवो देवता विष्णुस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

नीलं वासो नीलकायं त्रिनेत्रम्
लम्बतुण्डं दन्तमुग्रं गजास्यम् ।
दिव्यरूपं मोदकं वै दधानं
गौरीपुत्रं टङ्कहस्तं नमामि ॥५०॥

[३६]गणानां त्वेति मन्त्रस्य गणकर्षिः पंक्तिच्छन्दो वामदेवो देवता गणेशस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

उत्तप्तधाम[३७] कनकाब्जवर्णां (?)
लसद्भुन[३८]द्धाम (?) चारुहस्ताम् ।
पद्मासनस्थामपि पद्महस्ता-
मिन्दीवराक्षीं कमलां नमामि ॥ ५१ ॥

[३९]हिरण्यवर्णामिति मन्त्रस्य ब्रह्मर्षिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः कमलाप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

बिभ्राणां दशभिर्भुजैरसिवरं चक्रं त्रिसूलं शरं
शक्तिं खेटकमङ्कुशं च धनुषं पर्शुं च पाशं तथा ।
पंचास्योपरि पद्मविष्टरगतामुत्तप्तहेमप्रभा-
मापीनस्तनमण्डलां गिरिसुतां देवीं त्रिनेत्रां भजे ॥ ५२ ॥

[४०]अम्बे अम्बिके इति मन्त्रस्य हिरण्यगर्भर्षिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दो महेशो देवता महेश्वरी[४१] प्रीतये विनियोगः ।

टङ्कहस्तं महाकायमुत्पलाभयधारिणम् ।
अशेषशिल्पनिरतं नमामि सुरशिल्पिनम् ॥ ५३ ॥

३५. ऋ. वे. १. २२. २०.

३६. ऋ. वे. २, २३, १ । ३७. ल. मं. । ३८. ल. ल. । ३९. श्रीसूक्ते आद्या ऋक् । ४०. वा. सं. २३, १८; का. सं. २५, २० । ४१. ल. महिषमर्दिनी महेश्वरी° ।

[४२]विश्वकर्मेति मन्त्रस्य काश्यपर्षिः पंक्तिश्छन्दः मातलिर्देवता विश्वकर्मप्रीतये नियोगः ।

पूर्णचन्द्रप्रतीकाशां पूर्णचन्द्रनिभाननाम् ।
वाग्देवतां नमस्यामि पुस्तकाभयधारिणीम् ॥ ५४ ॥

[४३]यां मेधामिति मन्त्रस्य गौतमर्षिर्गायत्रीच्छन्द ईश्वरो देवता वाग्देवताप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

आवहं रक्तगौराङ्गं पीतवासः (सं) सुशोभनम् ।
सिंहासनगतं शान्तं वराभयकरं स्मृतम् ॥ ५५ ॥

[४४]अग्निश्च पृथिवीं चेति मन्त्रस्य अग्निमीलर्षिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः अग्निदेवता प्रावह प्रीतये विनियोगः ।

प्रवहं पीतसङ्काशं नागयज्ञोपवीतिनम् ।
नानालङ्कारसंयुक्तं वृषभस्थं विभावयेत् ॥ ५६ ॥

[४५]ब्रह्म राजन्यमिति मन्त्रस्य ब्रह्मर्षिरनिरुक्ता गायत्रीच्छन्दः ब्रह्मादेवता प्रवहप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

उद्वहं नीलसङ्काशं नीलेन्दीवरधारिणम् ।
नीलपद्मासनस्थं च नीलाभरणभूषितम् ॥ ५७ ॥

योऽहमिति मन्त्रस्य धनऋषिरनुष्टुप्छन्दो नारायणदेवता उद्वहप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

सम्वहं चिन्तयेद्गौरं नानालङ्कारशोभितम् ।
अजस्थं चिन्तयेत् प्राज्ञः कुण्डलाद्यैश्च भूषितम् ॥ ५८ ॥

[४६]वैश्वानर इति मन्त्रस्य नलिनऋषिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः श्रीर्देवता सम्वहप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

विवहं पिङ्गवर्णं च द्विभुजं मेषवाहनम् ।
शिखिपोतस्थितं ध्यायेत् [४७]सर्वलक्षणसंयुतम् ॥ ५९ ॥

४२. ऋ. वे. १०, ८१, ३ । ४३. वा. सं. ३२, १४ । ४४. वा. सं. २६, १ 'अग्निश्च पृथिवी च' इति वर्तते । ४५. का. सं. २८, ३ । ४६. १,९८,३ ४७. ल. धर्म° ।

[४८]अग्निमीळे इति मन्त्रस्य भार्गव ऋषिः पंक्तिच्छन्दः पावमानी देवता विवहप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

परिवहं पिङ्गलवर्णं मार्जारस्थं विचिन्तयेत् ।
नानाभरणसम्पन्नं रत्नहारोपशोभितम् ॥ ६० ॥

[४९]देवो देवीति मन्त्रस्य देवता ऋषयः पंक्तिच्छन्दः परिवहप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[५०]परावहं रक्तवर्णं योगासनगतं विभुम् ।
खड्गधर्मचरं चैव पीतवासो (?) पशोभितम् ॥ ६१ ॥

[५१]यद्देवेति मन्त्रस्य नलिनऋषिर्जगतीच्छन्दः सोमो देवता परावहप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

[५२]अग्न्यादिषु च कोणेषु बहिः पीठान्ततोयजेत् ।
पिशाचान् राक्षसान् भूतान् वेतालांश्च यथाक्रमम् ॥ ६२ ॥
क्षोभकः कुशरूपश्च सौभद्रो जम्भकस्तथा ।
द्विरण्डो डिण्डिमश्चैव षट्पिशाचाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ ६३ ॥
गोमुखो नन्दो भद्रश्च[५३] द्विजिह्वो नलिनस्तथा ।
हस्तिकर्णो विशालाक्षः सप्तरक्षोगणः स्मृतः ॥ ६४ ॥
भूमिदो वरदश्चैव जयन्तः क्षोभकस्तथा ।
विश्वदन्तश्च कुमुद एते भूतगणाः स्मृताः[५४] ॥ ६५ ॥

४८. ऋ. वे. १, १, १, (ऋष्यादयः भिन्नाः वर्तन्ते । न केवलं अत्र, अन्यत्रापि प्रायः एवमेव भिन्नता दृश्यते]

४९. वा. सं. २१, ५६ 'देवो देवैः' इति वर्तते । स एव मन्त्रः अत्र निर्दिष्टः स्यात् ।

५०. दृश्यतां भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि आवहादीनां संक्षेपोक्तिः

आवहं प्रवहं चैव तथैवोद्वहसंवहौ ।
विन्यसेत्पश्चिमे द्वारि निवहं च परीवहम् ॥
विन्यसेदुत्तरद्वारि मरुतं च पराभवम् ॥

५१. वा. सं. २०, १४ । ५२. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २.२०.५३b-५७.

५३. भविष्ये-'नन्दभद्रश्च' । ५४. स्व. म. गणः स्मृतः ।

[५५]मुगदो नीलकर्णश्च वसन्तो यावकस्तथा ।
घोररूपा[५६] महाकाया[५७] वेताला: षट् प्रकीर्तिता: ॥६६॥

निगमोक्तैश्च मन्त्रैश्च पूजयेद्भूतिमिच्छतो[५८](?) ।
रक्तगन्धैश्च माल्यैश्च सन्मयै(?)र्मणिभिस्तथा ॥६७॥

स्थापयेज्जापकान् द्वारि बहुमन्त्रविशारदान् ।
प्रतिद्वारं खड्गधरं नीचासनं[५९] यजेत् ॥६८॥

अग्रतः स्थापयेत् कुम्भं क्षीरिवृक्षसमुद्भवम् ।
वटस्य वरुणस्यैव यन्त्रे खड्गं निधापयेत् ॥६९॥

कालरात्रिं ततो जप्त्वा चण्डीसूक्तं जपेदनु ।
[६०]बह्वृचः पूर्वतः स्थाप्य[६१] दक्षिणे तु यजुर्विदः[६२] ॥७०॥

५५. भविष्ये—'अङ्गदः'.
५६. स्व. म. —पो.
५७. स्व. म. —यो.
५८. ल. भूमिमिच्छत।.
५९. ल. °सनगतं.
६०. द्रष्टव्यतां आ. ल. ९३. १३१-४.
रात्रिसूक्तं च रौद्रं च पावमानं सुमङ्गलम् ।
पूर्वतो बह्वृचः शान्ति पठन्नास्ते ह्युदङ्मुखः ॥
शाक्तं शाक्रं च सौम्यं च कूष्माण्डं शान्तिमेव च ।
पाठयेद्दक्षिणद्वारि यजुर्वेदिनमुत्तमम् ॥
सुपर्णमथ वैराजमाग्नेयं रुद्रसंहिताम् ।
ज्येष्ठसाम तथा शान्ति छन्दोगः पश्चिमे जपेत् ॥
शान्तिसूक्तं च सौरं च तथा शाकुनकं शुभम् ।
पौष्टिकं च महाराज्यमुत्तरेणाप्यथर्ववित् ॥
तथा भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २.२०.१७१ आरभ्य,
रात्रिसूक्तं च रौद्रं च पवमानं समुज्ज्वलम् ।
जतेच पौरुषं सूक्तं सर्वतोवरतं पृथक् ॥
शाक्तं रौद्रं च सौम्यं च कूष्माण्डं जातवेदसम् ।
सौरसूक्तं च यजतो दक्षिणेन यजुर्विदः ॥ इत्यादि
६१. ल. —प्याः.. ६२. ल. —दौ.

सामगः पश्चिमेनाथ उत्तरेऽथर्वणः स्मृतः[६४] ।
अथवा त्वेकमध्याय-शाखाध्यायिनमेव वा ॥७१॥

विष्णोर्हरस्य सूक्ताद्यान् पंचाङ्गं [६५]रुद्रमेव वा ।
सषाङ्गं रुद्रं संजाप्य प्रतिद्वारेषु जापकाः ॥७२॥

न्यासजपादिकं[६६] कृत्वा शिवपूजापुरःसरम् ।
पंचाङ्गरुद्रं सषाङ्गं सूक्तानन्यांश्च यत्नतः ॥
[६७]होमे प्रवर्तमाने तु सूक्तं वै वरुणात्मकम् ॥७३॥

वैराजं चैव सौपर्णं [६८]वामदेव्यं तथैव च ।
गोसूक्तं च विकर्णं च रक्षोघ्नानि च संजपेत् ॥७४॥

रात्रिसूक्तं च रौद्रं च कौष्माण्डं जातवेदसम् ।
मंगलं पावमानीं च गौर(?)सूक्तं तथैव च ॥७५॥

शौक्रं सौम्यमघोराख्यं मार्तण्डं शान्तिकं तथा ।
शान्तिसूक्तानि सर्वाणि संजपेद्देवताधिया ॥७६॥

स्वाहा प्रणम्य चक्रं सं(?)पाठो वैराजमुच्यते ।
दिक्पालसूक्तं[६९] सौवर्णं आप्यायस्वेति ऋक्त्रयम् ॥७७॥

तद्वामदेव्यमित्युक्तमनोहा (?) इति पंचकम् ।
गोसूक्तं[७०] तद्विजानीयाद्विभ्रतेति विकर्णकम् ॥७८॥

६३. ल. —गौ. ६४. ल. —र्णौ स्मृतौ.

६५. 'अथातः पंचांगरुद्राणा न्यासपूर्वकं जपहोमार्चनाभिषेकविधि व्याख्यास्यामः इति महान्यासे पंचाङ्गरुद्रविधिरुक्तः ।

६६. ल. जाप्यादिकं । ६७. दृश्यतां भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २०.१७०.

६८. ल. 'आप्यायस्वेति ऋक्त्रयम् । तद्वामदेवमित्युक्तं मनोश्च इति य... वामदेवे तथैव च' इत्यधिकम् ।

६९. 'त्रातारमिन्द्रमवितारमिन्द्रं' इत्यादिमन्त्रभागः स्यात् । दृश्यतां याजुषमन्त्ररत्नाकरः ।

७०. 'आगावो अग्मन्नतभद्रमक्रन्' इत्येतत् गोसूक्तमिति वैदिकसंप्रदायः । तद्व्यतिरेकेन किं गोसूक्तमत्राभिप्रेतमिति न ज्ञायते । पूर्व ७४-श्लोक गोसूक्तप्रस्तावे ल. कोरो 'मनोश्च' इति 'अनोहा' इत्यस्य स्थाने दृश्यते ।

[७१]विश्वानि देवेत्यादि षट् रक्षोघ्नं परिकीर्तितम् ।
यज्जायते(?)त्यादिमन्त्रानृक्त्रयं रात्रिसूक्तकम् ॥७९॥

[७२]त्र्यम्बकमिति मन्त्रैकं रात्रौ तत्परिपठ्यते ।
[७३]यद्देवेत्यादिकौष्माण्डमृक्त्रयं समुदाहृतम् ॥८०॥

[७४]अग्ने बृहन्निति नवसूक्तं वै जातवेदसम् ।
ईशाने द्वादशर्क् वक्ष्ये मङ्गलं हितमुच्यते ॥८१॥

ऋक् सप्तदशकं चैव पावमानीति कथ्यते ।
[७५]आपो हि ष्ठा च गायत्री [७६]शन्नोदेवीस्तथैव च ॥८२॥

पावमानी परा ख्याता सर्वपातकहारिणी ।
[७७]ध्रुवोऽसीति च पंचांगं ते शिरसीति कथ्यते ॥८३॥

[७८]अन्नात् परिश्रु(स्रु)त इति प्रकर्षं शौक्रमुच्यते ।
[७९]आप्यायस्वेति निगमं तत्सौम्यमिति कथ्यते ॥८४॥

[८०]मयि गृह्णामीत्यादिकं[८१] मघोराख्यं विदुर्बुधाः ।
[८२]ऋचं वाचमृगध्यायं[८३] मार्तण्ड इति कथ्यते ॥८५॥

७१. ऋ. वे. ५, ८२, ५.
७२. ऋ. ७, ५९, १२.
७३. वा. सं. २०. १४-१६.
७३. ऋ. वे. १०, १, १.
७४. ऋ. वे. १०, ९, १.
७५. ऋ. वे. १०, ९, ४.
७६. वा. सं. ५, १३.
७७. वा. सं. १९, ७५.
७८. ऋ. वे. १, ९१, १६.
७९. तै. सं. ५, ७, ९, १.
८०. ल —त्यादि पठन् अघोरा.
८१. वा. सं. ३६, १.
८२. ल.—चो ऋ.

सर्वं प्रणवभिन्नेन सर्षिच्छन्दःपुरःसरम् ।
[८३]समस्तं देवयागे तु तदागेऽपि समस्तकम् ॥८६॥

पुष्करिण्यामपि तथा कनिष्ठेनार्द्धमेव च (?) ।
सेत्वारामयोस्तदर्धं कूपवाप्योस्तदर्धकम् ॥८७॥

एकवृक्षे(?)ऋक्त्रयं च मण्डपे संस्मरेदिति ।
गृहयागे वृषोत्सर्गे अर्द्धार्द्धं च विशेषतः ॥८८॥

अयुतहोमे लक्षे च कोटिहोमे समस्तकम् ।
शान्तिके पौष्टिके काम्ये तदर्धं च विधीयते ॥८९॥

[८४]यज्ञाग्रतः पवमानं पुरुषसूक्तं तथैव च ।
गायत्रीं चैव [८५]तद्विष्णोः तथा [८६]त्र्यम्बकमेव च ॥९०॥

रुद्रेण सह सप्ताङ्गं पंचाङ्गं शृणुसत्तम[८७] ।
यज्ञाग्रतो [८८]विष्णुसूक्तं अद्भ्यः सम्भूत एव च ॥ ९१ ॥
[८९]आशुशिशानमारभ्य [९०]वयं सोममेव च ।
रुद्रेण सह पंचाङ्गं यागपूजापुरः सरम् ॥ ९२ ॥

प्रजपेत्संहितां पश्चात् दिवा रात्रौ विशेषतः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च सहस्रकरणं विना (?) ॥ ९३ ॥

शृङ्गाराङ्गं केलिवादं हारं प्रकरणं त्यजेत् ।
प्रायश्चित्तमशौचाङ्गं सदैव यागकर्मणि ॥ ९४ ॥

अथ ध्यानं प्रवक्ष्यामि कृत्वा पापैः प्रमुच्यते ।
न्यासेन देहसन्दाहस्तस्मान्न्यासं समाचरेत् ॥ ९५ ॥

८३. द्रष्टव्यं भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २०,१८०.
८४. वा. सं. ३४.१३. ८५. ऋ.वे. १,२२,२०. ८६. ऋ.वे.७,५९,१२
८७. ल. —मा: । ८८. 'विष्णोर्नुकं वीर्याणि' इत्यारब्धं सूक्तं स्यात् ऋ. वे. १,१५४; वा.सं. ५,२८; का.सं. ५,२४; द्रष्टव्यं याजुषमन्त्ररत्नाकरे: ।
८९. ऋ. वे. १०,१०३,१; वा. सं. २७,३३; का. सं. १८,१०
९०. वा. सं. ३.५६; का सं. ३,६४.

[९१]ओं यज्जाग्रत इत्यङ्गुष्ठाभ्यां नमः ।
ओं त्रिपादूर्द्धमिति तर्जनीभ्यां स्वाहा ।
ओं वेदाहमिति मध्यमाभ्यां वषट् ।
ओं अमीषां चित्तमित्यनामिकाभ्यां हूम् ।
ओं वयं सोममिति कनिष्ठाभ्यां वौषट् ।
ओं ऋचं ब्रह्मान्निति दिग् बन्धनम् ।

पंचाङ्गरुद्रस्य पुष्पदन्त ऋषिः पंक्तिच्छन्दः त्र्यम्बकमिति बीजं यद्देवानामिति शक्तिः सहस्रशीर्षेति नायकम् । ओं पुरुष नारायणो देवता पुरुषस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

सप्ताङ्गरुद्रस्य पुष्पदन्त ऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप्छन्दः सविता देवता रुद्रमहे विनियोगः ।

वारुणमन्त्रस्य जगतीच्छन्दः शम्भुर्देवता वरुणस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

वैराजसूक्तस्य नरोत्तम ऋषिः त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः सविता देवता मखस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

सौपर्णसूक्तस्य ब्रह्मर्षि स्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः वाराही देवता सुपर्णस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।
वामदेव सूक्तस्य ब्रह्मर्षिस्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः शम्भुर्देवता वामदेवप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

गोसूक्तस्य हारीत ऋषिः पंक्तिच्छन्दः भवो देवता रुद्रप्रीतये गोयागे इन्द्रमहे विनियोगः ।

विकर्णसूक्तस्य वैश्वानर ऋषि गायत्रीच्छन्दः विकर्णप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

रक्षोघ्नसूक्तस्य हारीत ऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः हरिदवता प्रजापतिस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

रात्रिसूक्तस्य बलभद्र ऋषिर्जगतीच्छन्दः कालरात्रिर्देवता इन्द्रमहे विनियोगः ।

रौद्रसूक्तस्य अघोरऋषिर्जयतीच्छन्दो वासवी देवता वासवप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

९१. भविष्य-मध्यमपर्वणि २.२०.१६६ आरभ्य.

कौष्माण्डसूक्तस्य नारायण ऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप्छन्दः शची देवता इन्द्रस्तुतौ विनियोगः ।

मङ्गल्यसूक्तस्य बलभद्रऋषिर्जगतीच्छन्दः धनदा[९२] देवता वाजपेये विनियोगः ।

जातवेदसूक्तस्य भव[९३]ऋषिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दो भवानी देवता जातवेदप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

पावमानीसूक्तस्य माधव ऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप्छन्दो वायवी देवता सर्वकामे विनियोगः ।

सौरसूक्तस्य वामनऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः शङ्करोदेवता शङ्करप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

शौकसूक्तस्य गणेश ऋषिः पंक्तिच्छन्दः सोमोदेवता सोमप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

मार्तण्डसूक्तस्य विषयसूक्त(?)ऋषिर्जगतीच्छन्दो रविर्देवता मार्तण्डप्रीतये विनियोगः ।

स्वगृह्योक्तेन मार्गेण कुण्डसंस्कारपूर्वकम् ।
स्थापयेद् विधिवदग्निं होमं कुर्यादनन्तरम् ॥९६॥

एककुण्डे ददेन्नित्यं पृथङ्नित्यं समाचरेत् ।
वरुणं च समुद्दिश्य पायसैरक्षतैरपि ॥९७॥

ततस्तिलयवैर्वापि जुहुयाच्च शताहुतीः ।
घृताक्तैर्मधुराक्तैर्वा(?) शुद्धक्षीरैरथापि वा ॥९८॥

ब्रह्माणामिक्षुभिर्वापि पालासैर्वा घृतेन वा ।
लोकेशादीन् तिलयवैर्मारुतानां यवेन तु ॥९९॥

अन्येषां पायसैर्वापि कमलैर्मोदकैरपि ।
विश्वकर्माणमुद्दिश्य कृसरान्नेन पूजयेत् ॥१००॥

पिशाचानां यावकान्नैर्यक्षाणां पिष्टकैरपि ।
भूतानां माषमिश्रेण कलान्नेन यवेन वा ॥ १०१ ॥

९२. ल. –दो.
९३. ल. भगवन्.
९४. दृश्यतां भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २०.१८१.

गव्ययुक्तेन जुहुयादष्टावष्टौ विभागतः ।
एकैकामाहुतिं दद्याद् घृतस्यैव विधानतः ॥ १०२ ॥

[९५]प्रथमे दिवसे कुर्याद्देवतानां च स्थापनम् ।
द्वितीये पूजयेद्देवान् होमं कुर्यादनन्यधीः ॥ १०३ ॥

तृतीये तु बलिं दद्यात् यथाविभवविस्तरैः ।
पातयेद् वसुधारांश्च दिवसस्यावसानके ॥ १०४ ॥

वरुणात्मकाय सूर्याय दद्यादर्घं विभूतये ।
नृत्यगीतादिना रात्रौ नयेद्रात्रिं समन्ततः ॥ १०५ ॥

हविष्यान्नैर्ब्राह्मणांश्च भोजयेदात्मना सह ।
ततः प्रभातसमये यजमानः सपत्नीकः[९६] ॥ १०६ ॥

[९७]कुर्यादब्दैवतैर्मन्त्रैः सर्वौषध्युदकेन तु ।
समूलकुशतोयैश्च मृत्तिकान्तर्गतैस्तथा ॥ १०७ ॥

पद्मषण्डस्य मार्गस्य वल्मीकैश्च[९८] समुद्भवैः (?) ।
गजदन्तोद्धृतैश्चैव[९९] वृक्षमूलगतैस्तथा[१००] ॥
वृषशृङ्गगतैश्चैव[१०१] स्नानं कुर्यादनन्यधीः ॥ १०८ ॥

[१०२]सुरास्त्वेत्यादिभिर्मन्त्रैः पावमानीगतैरपि ।
कुशापमार्जनविधौ सम्यक् स्नानं समाचरेत् ॥ १०९ ॥

पिधाय वासोयुगलं सुगन्धेनानुलेपयेत् ।
विलिखेद् वारुणास्त्रं च तिलकेऽस्त्रविधानवित् ॥

९५. भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २०, १९५.
९६. ल.—त्निकः. ९७. दृश्यतां भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २०. २०७-८.
९८. ल.—कस्य. ९९. ल.—तस्यैव.
१००. ल. —तस्य च. १०१. ल. तस्यैव.
१०२. 'सुरास्त्वामभिषिञ्चन्तु' इत्यादि स्मार्तो मन्त्रः आ. म. ९३. ५१-५७; तथा भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २०. २१२-२२०.

प्रतिष्ठामारभेत् पश्चात् पंचदेवान् प्रणम्य च ।
पूर्ववत्कारयेत्पूजां होमं कुर्याद्यथाविधि ॥ १११ ॥

[१०३]दोग्ध्रीं च कपिलां शुभ्रां जले गामवतारयेत् ।
अभावे त्वेकवर्णां च श्वेतां वा सर्वलक्षणाम् ॥ ११२ ॥

ऐशान्यभिमुखीं धेनुं वत्सहीनां जले न्यसेत् ।
यावद्वै दशहस्तं स्यात्तावदानीय यत्नतः ॥ ११३ ॥

सामगाय ततो दद्यात् प्रतिष्ठासाङ्गहेतवे ।
[१०४]ततो मङ्गलशब्देन वेदघोषपुरःसरम् ॥ ११४ ॥

तडागमुत्सृजेत् पश्चात् चतुःकुशसमन्वितम् ।
अर्घपात्रावृतहस्तन्याय (?) तोयैः प्रयत्नतः ॥ ११५ ॥

बलिदानं ततः कुर्यात् वरुणाय मधुपायसम् ।
[१०५]आदित्याय च गुडान्नं रक्तपुष्पान्वितं ददेत् ॥ ११६ ॥

सोमाय चैव शाल्यन्नं क्षीराज्यदधिसंयुतम् ।
अङ्गारकाय सयवं शाल्यन्नं गुडपूर्वकम् ॥ ११७ ॥

बुधाय पीतकान्नं च निशारक्तं समास(?)कम् ।
बृहस्पतये तथा पीतं श्वेतं शुक्राय वै ददेत् ॥ ११८ ॥

शनैश्चराय बलिं दद्यात् कृष्णमन्नं तथैव च ।
विट्लवणसमायुक्तं कृष्णभक्तं गुडान्वितम् ॥ ११९ ॥

राहवे च तथा कृष्णं केतवे धूम्रकं ददेत् ।
पीतान्नं च तथेन्द्राय अग्नये चापि लोहितम् ॥ १२० ॥

यमाय तिलभक्तं च कृष्णव्रीहिसमन्वितम् ।
निर्ऋतये तथा कृष्णं वरुणायाज्यपायसम् ॥ १२१ ॥

१०३. द्रष्टव्यतां भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि. २०.२२२.
१०४. द्रष्टव्यतां भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि. २०. २३१b, २३२a.
१०५. द्रष्टव्यता भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २१. ६०-६३.

वायवे चैव धूम्रान्नं कुबेराय च पीतकम् ।
ईशानाय च शुक्लान्नं ब्रह्मणे पीतसंभवम् ॥ १२२ ॥

अनन्ताय तथाश्वेतं ब्रह्मणे पीतसंभवम् ।
दध्यन्नं विष्णवे तु शिवाय च घृतोदनम् ॥ १२३ ॥

विनायकाय रक्तान्नं कमलायै च पीतकम् ।
अम्बिकायै तथा रक्तं [१] "जपापुष्पान्वितं शुभम् ॥ १२४ ॥

कर्पूरगन्धसंयुक्तं च दधिना(?)क्तं सितं भवेत् ।
अथवा चन्दनार्द्रं च गुडनागरकुङ्कुमम् ॥ १२५ ॥

कुशीतेन समाक्रान्तं वनपुष्पैः सुमण्डितम् ।
अथवा दीपसंयुक्तं तल्लोहितबलिर्भवेत् ॥ १२६ ॥

पीतं भवेन्निशारक्तं सेफालीकुसुमान्वितम् ।
धूम्रं भृङ्गराजाक्तं स्यात् सापत्न्याः पुत्रसंयुतम् ॥ १२७ ॥

पुलाकभक्तमन्नं च तथा विट्लवणान्वितम् ।
मरीचसार्षविजया कृष्णपुष्पान्वितं च वा ॥ १२८ ॥

एतत्कृष्णगणं विप्राः प्रदद्यादविचारयन् ।
भूतेभ्यः स्याद् यावकान्नं पायसं विधकर्मणे ॥ १२९ ॥

यावकान्नं च यक्षेभ्यः पिशाचेभ्यः कलान्नकम् ।
संध्यायां प्रीणयेत् सूर्यं वाञ्छलाण्डुकमेव च(?) ॥ १३० ॥

नयेच्च संहितापाठैर्यजमानः सपत्नीकः[१०७] ।
हविष्यान्नं ततो भुक्त्वा शयीत शुद्धशय्यया ॥ १३१ ॥

ततो रात्रौ व्यतीतायां पूर्ववत्सर्वमाचरेत् ।
बलिदानं न कर्तव्यं महास्नानं समाचरेत् ॥
प्रथमं वारिणा स्नानं [१०८]"समुद्रायेति संस्मरन् ॥ १३२ ॥

१०६. ल. यव°. १०७. ल. त्रिकः. १०८. वा. सं. ३८.७.

समुद्रायत्वेति मन्त्रस्य मधुच्छन्दऋषिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः वरुणोदेवता वारुणस्नाने विनियोगः ।

आप्यायस्वेति मन्त्रस्य नारायण ऋषिर्जगतीच्छन्दः शचीदेवता श्वेताश्वखुर-मृत्तिकास्नाने विनियोगः ।

तथा चत्वरख्याच्च(?)वल्मीकात्तीर्थसङ्गमात् ।
कृष्टोत्थं कुशमूलोत्थं तथा गन्धान्वितं शुभम् ॥ १३३ ॥
पंचपल्लवसंयुक्तं पञ्चरत्नविभूषितम् ।
पंचक्वाथान्वितं कुर्यात् नानाफलसमन्वितम् ॥

आलोड्य कलशे कृत्वा शंनोदेवीति संपठन् ।
आपोहिष्ठेति तिसृभिः वारिणा स्नापयेत्ततः ॥

चेरुपाणीति(?) मन्त्रस्य बलभद्रऋषिर्गायत्रीच्छन्दः वरुणो देवता पंचामृत-स्नाने विनियोगः ।

वरुणगायत्रीं संकीर्त्य पञ्चगव्येन स्नापयेत् ।
पर्वताग्रमृदा चापि कुशमूलमृदा पुनः ॥१३६॥

[१०९]तेजोऽसीति मन्त्रस्य हारीतऋषिर्वायवी देवता घृतस्नाने विनियोगः ।

[११०]दधिक्राव्णो इति मन्त्रस्य नारद ऋषिर्विराट् छन्दः वरुणो देवता दधिस्नाने विनियोगः ।

[१११]आप्यायस्वेति मन्त्रस्य नील ऋषिस्त्रिष्टुप् छन्दः सविता देवता क्षीर-स्नाने विनियोगः ।

[११२]मधुवातेति मन्त्रस्य औतथ्यऋषिर्विराट्च्छन्दो हिरण्यगर्भो देवता मधुस्नाने विनियोगः ।

१०९. वा. सं. २९, ९. ११०. ऋ. वे. ४, ३९, ६.
१११. ऋ. वे. १, ९१, १६. ११२. ऋ. वे. १, ९०, ६.

[११३]सरस्वत्यै भोजमिति(?) नानापुष्पोदकेन तु ।
[११४]अग्न आयाहीति मन्त्रेण स्नापयेत् फलवारिणा ॥१३७॥

कलशैः स्नापयेत् पश्चात् सहस्रेण शतेन च ।
अशक्तौ पंचविंशत्या अयुग्मेनापि धारया ॥१३८॥

अष्टाङ्गार्घेण च ततः शिवसूक्तैरनन्तरम् ।
पादोदकैश्चापि तथा (?) तीर्थतोयैरनन्तरम् ॥१३९॥

[a]क्षीरं कुशाग्रं नीरं च तिलचम्पकचन्दनम् ।
पुष्पदूर्वाक्षतं क्षौद्रमष्टाङ्गोऽर्घः प्रकीर्तितः ॥१४०॥

ततो नीराजनं कुर्यान्नानाविभवविस्तरैः ।
स्वस्तिकं कलशं शङ्खं नन्द्यावर्तं तथोत्पलम् ॥
कललं दर्पणं छत्रं क्रमान्निर्मुञ्छनं चरेत् ॥१४१॥

स्वस्तिकं चन्दनैः कार्यं पङ्कमृत्तिकयाऽपि वा ।
कपिलागोमयैः कार्यं गोपीनां चन्दनैश्च वा ॥१४२॥

कलशं यवपूर्णं तु शंखं शालिमयं तथा ।
नन्द्यावर्तं मलयजमुत्पलं मुद्गसंभवम् ॥१४३॥

कललं माषसंभूतं दर्पणं पिष्टकोद्भवम् ।
छत्रं पुष्पमयं कुर्यात् विश्वानीति च संपठन् ॥१४४॥

क्रमान्निर्मुञ्छनं कुर्याच्चडागोपरि सत्तमाः ।
धूर्वसीति[११५], च मन्त्रेण माषभक्तं निवेदयेत् ॥१४५॥

पुष्पाक्षतं वस्त्रयुग्मं नानालङ्कारमेव च ।
दन्तकाष्ठं ततो दद्यात् यज्ञसूत्रं निवेदयेत् ॥१४६॥

११३. 'सरस्वत्या तेति जाती पुष्पतोयेन स्नापयेत्' इति पाठ. भविष्ये मध्यम-पर्वणि २०-२३६ b.

११४. ऋ. वे. ६, १६, १०.

a. दृश्यतां नित्याचारप्रदीपे द्वितीय भागे पृ. ५२२.

११५. वा. सं. १,८. -धूरसीति' मन्त्रारम्भ. ।

मुकुटं दर्पणं छत्रं तालवृन्तं तथासनम् ।
चतुः समं (?) चन्दनं च दूर्वाक्षतमतः परम् ॥१४७॥

दद्याद्दीपं घृतमयं तथा तिलमयं पुनः ।
शतमष्टोत्तरं दद्यात्तदर्धं पंचविंशकम् ॥१४८॥

स्थण्डिलस्योत्तरे भागे त्रिहस्तान्तरतस्ततः ।
प्राङ्मने न्यस्य चैशान्यां मण्डपस्य तथाग्रतः ॥१४९॥

[११६]सहकारस्य बिल्वस्य शालस्य च वटस्य च ।
पटेऽपि धापयेद्धूपं [११७]पिलुशय्यामयेऽपि वा ॥१५०॥

निधाय तत्र यूपं च पूर्वाग्रं स्याद्यथाविधि ।
यजमानप्रमाणै(ण) कं यूपं चैवापरं न्यसेत् ॥१५१॥

धातक्याः खदिरस्य स्यात् शालस्य केशरस्य वा ।
संस्थापयेत् फलधिया यूपं रक्षेति संस्मरन् ।
खनित्वा रोपयेत् यूपं हस्तं दत्वा पठेत् पुनः ॥१५२॥

नौकामारोहयेत् पश्चाद् यूपमादाय वाग्यतः ।
मध्यदेशे तडागस्य किंचिदुत्तरगोचरे ॥१५३॥

गर्तं प्रकल्प्य तत्रैव आप्यायस्वेति कीर्तयन् ।
घृताहुतित्रयं दद्यात् स्वाहेति अच्युताय वै[११८] ॥१५४॥

यूपगर्तं तु विधिवत् भौमाय तदनन्तरम् ।
लाजासक्तो(सक्तू?)दनं दध्ना 'कूर्माय' तदनन्तरम् ॥१५५॥

पृथिव्यै नमः स्वाहेति दद्यादर्घमनन्तरम् ।
चतूरज्जूसुसम्बद्धं प्रापयेन्मन्त्रसंयुतम् ॥१५६॥

११६. द्रष्टव्यं भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २-अंश २० अध्याय श्लो. २६२-२७३.
११७. ल. पीलु° प्रसूनमित्यर्थः ।
११८. ल. अक्षता यवैः

[११९]स्थिरो भवेति मन्त्रेण गन्धमाल्यैः प्रपूजयेत् ।
चक्रं सुदर्शनं शङ्खं नागदन्तशिरोगतम् ॥१५७॥

विघ्नस्यात्र च कर्तारं जहि दुःखं हरिप्रिय ।
एवं प्रपूजयेच्चक्रं गदामन्त्रमुदाहरेत् ॥१५८॥

[१२०]यज्ञप्रियासि देवि त्वं सर्वविघ्नविनाशिनी ।
त्राहि मां सर्वपापेभ्यो ह्यासने त्वं स्थिरा भव ॥१५९॥

दद्याच्चक्रं कांस्यमयमथवा वैत्य(?)[१२१]सम्भवम् ।
अष्टतोलकमानेन चतुरङ्गुलविस्तृतम् ॥१६०॥

अङ्गुलैकं भवेदायं(?)न लौहैः कारयेत् कलौ ।
उच्चैर्ध्वजं ततो दद्यात् पताकायुतमेव वा ॥१६१॥

पुष्पमालान्वितं कुर्याद् वस्त्रेण परिवेष्टयेत् ।
प्राप्तितेन स्पृशेद् यत्ते(?)स्पृष्ट्वाचम्य हरिं स्मरेत् ॥१६२॥

[१२२]सर्पाकारं तडागे च पुष्करिण्यां तथैव च ।
शूलाकारं च प्रासादे विष्णुपक्षे गदाकृतिः ॥ १६३ ॥

सेतौ कुम्भाकृतिश्चैव आरामे कमलाकृतिः ।
छत्राकृतिर्मण्डपे च गोयागे तु वृषाकृतिः ॥ १६४ ॥

लक्षहोमेऽङ्कुशाकारं ग्रहयागे नराकृतिः ।
अश्वाकृतिरश्वमेधे राजसूये ध्वजाकृतिः ॥ १६५ ॥

कोटिहोमे गदाकारमयुते पद्मसन्निभम् ।
अब्दैवतैः शान्तिकैश्च पावमान्यैश्च सर्वशः ॥१६६॥

ग्रहाभिधानैर्दिक्पालैरपामार्जनकैरपि ।
कुण्डस्योदकमानीय यजमानं सपत्नीकम् ॥१६७॥

११९. वा. सं. ११, ४४ १२० भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि २१, ११०.
१२१ ल. वैह्य (?)
१२२. दृश्यतां भविष्ये मध्यमपर्वणि १०, १९-२२a-b

स्नापयेद्विधिनानेन प्रदद्यादथ दक्षिणाम् ।
अष्टादशसुवर्णं च प्रतिष्ठायां विधीयते ॥१६८॥

तदर्धं च तदर्धं च वित्तशाठ्यं न कारयेत् ।
परितोषं दक्षिणान्ते तदन्ते दानमेव च ॥१६९॥

सर्वान्ते चैव पूर्णां च सवित्रेऽर्घं निवेदयेत् ।
वेष्टयेत् पुष्करिण्यां च जलक्षीरमयेन च ॥१७०॥

एवं प्रदक्षिणं कुर्यात् सहस्रशतधारया ।
वेष्टयेत् पञ्चगव्येन ततो [१२३]लाजाकपर्दकान् ॥ १७१ ॥

निर्वपेत्सर्वतश्चापि ब्रह्मघोषरवेण च ।
गृहं प्रविश्य च पुनरिष्टदेवं समर्चयेत् ॥ १७२ ॥

गृहदेवीं कुबेरं च बन्धुवर्गान् च भोजयेत् ।
पूजयेद् गुरुपत्नीं च ब्राह्मणांश्च विशेषतः ॥ १७३ ॥

यज्ञोपकरणं द्रव्यं नैवेद्यादीनि सत्तमाः ।
आचार्यानुज्ञामादाय यूपशय्यां निवेदयेत् ॥ १७४ ॥

दक्षिणातो बहिः सर्वं सर्वसत्त्वेभ्य उत्सृजेत् ।
दीनानां च दरिद्राणां पाषण्डानां विधानवित् ॥

इति स्वल्पमत्स्यपुराणे षट्पादकार्यासाहस्रे
प्रतिष्ठाविधौ अष्टादशोऽध्यायः ॥

१२३. ल. लाज

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